

DERBYSHIRE QUAKERS 1650 - 1761

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This study of Friends in a fairly remote county covers the history of the economic and social development of the Society until the amalgamation of Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire Quarterly Meetings in 1761. Initially the location of Friends and their meeting houses coincided with the geological and parochial boundaries which in themselves influenced the occupational and settlement patterns of the county. Friends lived predominantly in the northern half of the county during this first century of existence. Numbers may have been reduced by emigration to America and migration to other parts of the country but were never high and declined in the early eighteenth century.

Predominantly a middle to lower class group economically, Derbyshire Friends numbered very few wealthy members. Many were yeoman farmers or wholesalers and it was these groups who dominated the business meetings, having time to devote themselves to the Society. Only John Gratton of Monyash combined an outstanding ministry together with an organising ability which brought him recognition amongst London Friends as well as locally.

Derbyshire Friends enjoyed comparatively harmonious relations with civil and Anglican authorities, though prior to the Toleration Act of 1689 the priests were their worst persecutors. There were few prosecutions however, and an apparent co-operation existed intended to overcome civil disabilities suffered by Friends, in particular that of swearing oaths.

Friends were as generous as possible over poor relief, though with limited resources most of the burden fell on Chesterfield Meeting, the predominant Monthly Meeting, which also enjoyed a charity for apprentice boys. Little education apart from apprenticeship was offered, though Friends were as literate as their Anglican neighbours with whom they lived on good terms. Despite the contraction of four Monthly Meetings into two by the mid-eighteenth century, the vigour of this small body of Friends was still strong.

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List of abbreviations

Add. MSS	Additional MSS. British Library.
Besse	J. Besse, <u>Sufferings</u> .
Braithwaite Vol I	W.C. Braithwaite, <u>The Beginnings of Quakerism</u> .
Vol II	" " <u>The Second Period of Quakerism</u> .
CCRO	Cheshire County Record Office.
Cox, Vols I and II	J.C. Cox, <u>Three Centuries of Derbyshire Annals</u> .
DAJ	<u>Derbyshire Archaeological Journal</u> .
DCRO	Derbyshire County Record Office.
<u>Epistles</u>	G. Fox, <u>Epistles</u> .
<u>Journal</u>	" " <u>Journal</u> .
<u>Journal</u>	J. Gratton, <u>Journal</u> .
<u>JFHS</u>	<u>Journal of the Friends Historical Society</u> .
LCRO	Leicester County Record Office.
LJRO	Lichfield Joint Record Office.
Lidbetter	H. Lidbetter, <u>The Friends Meeting House</u> .
LSF	Library of the Society of Friends.
Locker Lampson	Mrs G. Locker Lampson, ed. <u>A Quaker Post Bag</u> .
Mo.MM	Morning Meeting Minutes.
MMS	Meeting for Sufferings Minutes.
ORS	Original Records of Sufferings.
Penney	N. Penney, ed. <u>Extracts from State Papers</u> .
PCC	Prerogative Court of Canterbury.
PRO	Public Record Office

List of abbreviations cont.

Q	Quaker records in Nottinghamshire County Record Office. (for full list see Bibliography).
SPCK	Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge.
Spufford	M. Spufford, <u>Contrasting Communities.</u>
Thirsk	J. Thirsk (ed) <u>The Agrarian History of England and Wales</u> Vol. IV
Vann	R. Vann, <u>The Social Development of English Quakerism.</u>
VCH I and II	Victoria History of the County of Derbyshire. (other counties specified in text).
YMM	Yearly Meeting Minutes.

Dates

All dates have been given in the style in which they were written. Thus the majority are in old style, the year beginning in March, referred to in Quaker fashion as the first month. After 1752 the first month is January.

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INTRODUCTION

It is fortunate that the careful attitude of early Friends towards their organisation and relationship with outward authority led them to keep voluminous records detailing the progress of the Society. Historians have gratefully accepted these for the purpose of writing extensively about the movement, and in many cases the local Quaker records have provided useful corroborative evidence for the central history of the movement. Braithwaite used a great deal of local material, yet his history naturally remains the history of the movement as a whole, dominated by the central meetings which were primarily in London.¹ Friends who became famous for their theological argument, their missionary ardour, their zeal for social reform or their stamina in traversing the country, take first place in Quaker history. Their contribution ensures this. Their determination and courage however was not the exclusive preserve of the few and it is this great body of dedicated people, the bulk of the membership, whose history waits to be investigated. Vann has argued that such a mass of material at both central and local level requires attack by sampling which he has done extensively in local sources.² Yet even this technique results in a generalized study, appropriate to his purpose but providing only certain aspects of detailed local knowledge. The history of the development of the local meetings and those who comprise the membership of the Society still waits to be written in many areas.

The present study concerns Friends in Derbyshire for the first century of their existence. It was a period characterised by the intense faith

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1. W.C.Braithwaite, The Beginnings of Quakerism (Macmillan, 1912) and The Second Period of Quakerism (Macmillan, 1921)
 2. R.T.Vann, The Social Development of English Quakerism (Harvard University Press, 1969), p.ix.

of those convinced, by persecution, followed by toleration and a decline in interest by the second generation of Friends. It concludes at the moment at which the Quarterly Meeting amalgamated with that of Nottinghamshire in 1761, after which the character of the local movement inevitably changed. Although contacts already existed with Nottinghamshire Friends, particularly along the common county border, the centre of the local movement in the later eighteenth century was away from Chesterfield. It may have caused the rebirth of the movement in the southern part of the county where, by 1800, the membership had substantially increased. Other factors also brought change: Slackhall Monthly Meeting in the far north-west of the county had amalgamated with Cheshire Quarterly Meeting in 1738, Monyash Monthly Meeting had ceased to have a separate existence in 1735 and the traditional centre for Breach Monthly Meeting changed with the new meeting house built at Toadhole Furnace in 1743. Consequently 1761 seems a logical terminus and the period of one hundred years is an adequate one to study the changing and developing fortunes of local Friends.

This study attempts to answer some of the questions which can be posed about the local Friends in Derbyshire, about whom little or nothing is known. Who were they, what was their occupation, how did they differ - if they did - from other seventeenth and eighteenth century people?

Until detailed local work is done it is not possible to produce comparative studies of the relationship of these people to the central organisation of the Society, their political influence, their efforts to cope with a declining membership relatively early in the history of the Society, and a host of other related problems. The following work traces the history of the movement in Derbyshire, relating this to the national history of the Society where relevant. The general history of Friends can be read elsewhere and is not detailed except when needed for clarity. Similarly,

since this is primarily a social and economic study there is no theological discussion. Small groups of dedicated Friends, their obscure meeting houses, their links with other groups and their relationship to 'the world's people' are all important and uncharted aspects of social history in this context and were important to the people involved. These are the problems which this study explores and sets out, in an attempt to increase understanding of the 'ordinary' Friend.

The location of Derbyshire might seem to have ensured a continuous and well documented history of the Quaker movement. It marches with Leicestershire, the county of Fox's origin, many of Fox's early experiences were in the area, the first mention of Quakers in Privy Council records are about those in Derbyshire¹ and it is only just off the direct north-south route taken by so many Friends travelling up and down the country. Yet the most notable event was the emergence of the Quietist group at Fritchley under the leadership of John G. Sargeant in 1870: until then the county, described by Henry Gouldney in 1699 as 'could and solitary',² remained in the background of the Quaker movement.

Dissent was not new to the county. Lollardy existed in the south of the area in the early fifteenth century as it did in other parts of the Midlands.³ Catholicism was well entrenched among various families who suffered for their faith in the succeeding century, three of them being martyred in Derby in 1588.⁴ Activities hostile to the Established Church caused the authorities some anxiety at this time and although Catholics were the prime objective of the government,

1. Penney, p.1.

2. Locker Lampson, p.75.

3. K.B.McFarlane, John Wycliffe and the Beginnings of Non-Conformity (English University Press, 1952), p.174.

4. Cox, Vol.I, p.260.

there were others whose objections to Elizabeth's compromise on church matters stemmed more from the influences emanating from northern Europe than the Pope in Italy. In 1593 Cecil received a letter from Anthony Atkinson of Hull, a man employed by the Privy Council to hunt down recusants, who wrote 'And further some fleethe into Darbishier into the hie peeke and there is one Robartt Eyre .. gives warning when any search is portended and so makes them fle into the mounteynes in the peeke country where the papists have harbors in the Every-peakes and there are releved by sheppards, so that the country is a sanctuary for all wycked men ...'¹ It seems likely that the 'wycked men' were not only Catholics but also others who refused to attend the parish church.

The latter may well have included some Brownists whose influence was noticeable in Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire at the end of the sixteenth century. Cox had detected evidence from ecclesiastical sources that areas around Chesterfield and in Bakewell parish were affected² and it is more than likely that there was some interest in the early Baptist community at Scrooby which was eventually forced to break up and flee to the Low Countries.

The seventeenth century witnessed the same flowering of dissenting groups in Derbyshire as elsewhere, accompanied by the witches, iconoclasts and false preachers whose activities intermittently worried the authorities of the Established Church.³ Little evidence is forthcoming about organized non-conformity before the Civil War, though odd hints are occasionally thrown out. A report by Sir Francis Coke to his

1. CSPD Eliz. Vol CCXLV, No.131, p.377.

2. Cox, Vol I, p.318.

3. cf. K.Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic (Penguin, 1973) pp 87, 297, 465, 577, Cox, Vol II, pp.86-90, and Fox, Journal, p.62.

brother in the Privy Council in 1625 described an extensive search for the best known Catholics in the county but added 'Thus have I been bold to certify you what we observed in these papists houses; there are many other recusants and Romish affected in these hundreds but of mean estate'.¹ In the 1630s families whose children all became Quakers were involved in property transactions together, suggesting a considerable community of interest.

The organization of the Presbyterian classis in Derbyshire must have had foundation in a very solid core of adherents to the cause which may well have stretched back before the 1640s. The chance survival of the minute book of the Wirksworth classis² has probably given it an unrepresentative importance, but the system was clearly defined for Derbyshire even if it was over ambitious. Gratton referred to Presbyterians in his Journal as an influence on his early life during the Commonwealth, and the departure of the preachers in 1662 'whom I had so much esteemed and admired' ... 'caused me to weep bitterly'.³ It was a meeting of the Wirksworth classis into which Jane Stones, a very early Quaker, had broken,⁴ and there are a number of other references which indicate how well-established the Presbyterians were when the preaching of George Fox began to have its impact on Derbyshire. Philip Kinder, in his 'Historie of Derbyshire'⁵ (written in about 1663) implies that it was a phenomenon of the past but he may not have been aware of the residual strength of the movement after the Restoration. He presents a charming picture - '...in some of the greater towns many seeming sanctificeturs used to follow the presbiterian gang and upon a

1. Coke papers, Appendix to 12th Report of Hist.MSS Comm. (1888-9) Vol I, p.228.

2. DAJ, Vol II (1879).

3. Journal, pp.3, 8.

4. Cox, Vol I, p.340.

5. Bodleian Library, Asmole MSS 788, ff190B-204; 208-210B. Printed in The Reliquary O.S. Vol XXII, p.17.

lecture day putt on theire best rayment and hereby take occasion to goe a gossiping: your merry wives of Bentley will sometimes looke in the glass, and chirpe a cup merrily, yet not indecently'.

The Baptists have traditionally been associated with the early beginnings of the Quaker movement, many Friends having sampled Baptism but rejected it. As the high ideals of the early movement had to be abandoned many turned in search of a more acceptable faith. Their progression was described by Major General Haynes when writing to the Secretary of State Thurloe in 1656: 'Our fifthe monarchy men have many of them turned Anabaptist .. others have recounced that and all other ordinances and are turned Seekers, and feared by sober people will soon profess to be Quakers'.¹ Fox referred to many groups of Baptists, none more descriptively than the 'company of shattered Baptists',² which he found in Nottinghamshire in 1648. In the neighbouring county of Derbyshire there were also such groups, one of which was sufficiently strong to provoke a petition by the Presbyterian incumbent to the justices in 1653 requesting that four named Anabaptists should be bound over to keep the peace in Hayfield.³ Particular Baptists with a church at Derby were mentioned in a letter to Cromwell in 1654⁴ and during the Commonwealth Derbyshire was well represented at meetings held in the West Midlands. By 1689 however they seem to have died out as a sect.⁵ Gratton referred to some near Monyash in 1668 with whom he consorted for a time but whose doctrine of adult baptism he was unable to admit.⁶

1. Thurloe, Vol V, p.187.

2. Journal, p.25.

3. Cox, Vol I, p.335.

4. E.B. Underhill, Confessions of Faith, Hansard Knollys Soc., (London 1854), p.331-4.

5. Associated Records of the Midlands to 1658.

6. Journal, p.25. It is much more likely that these were Baptists than the group which was referred to as Anabaptists on the Continent at this time.

The Independents were holding secret meetings in Chesterfield in 1664,¹ and it seems likely that this was the remnant of an earlier group which had enjoyed greater liberty during the Interegnum.

Groups such as these which eventually gained solidity after surviving considerable fluctuations from the beginning of the seventeenth century were probably regarded by contemporaries in much the same light as the groups which did not have any serious later history. At the time, the Muggletonians and the Ranters were just as much of a threat to the emergent Society of Friends as the better established Presbyterians and Baptists. The Muggletonians had a number of adherents in Chesterfield and Gratton, as well as others, had some vituperative correspondence with Ludowic Muggleton.² Derbyshire has the dubious privilege of having been one of the last remaining areas in which Muggletonians survived; twenty one adherents were noted in the 1829 returns³ and Edward Watkins knew of a few still surviving when he wrote some notes on the sect in 1909.⁴ The Ranters, whose history is particularly hard to trace, were active in the Peak district, in the district on the edge of Derbyshire and Staffordshire where Thomas Hammersley lived and at Kidsley Park, a few miles west of Heanor.⁵ Without a coherent organisation they gradually faded out, but the early Quaker tenets were sufficiently close to their thinking for many to turn to Quakerism as a more rewarding faith. There must also have been adherents to the other sects which came briefly into existence and then faded leaving little or no trace as the political climate turned against them. From all these the Quakers recruited their members, as well as from professed

1. Journal, p.14.

2. " " p.45.

3. Cox, Vol I, p.374.

4. Q 340/4.

5. Fox, Journal, p.181 and Strathmore MSS, Vol IV, p.63. See below p.10.

adherents to the Established Church, continuing a tradition of dissent and non-conformity in Derbyshire which was well rooted in the past.

Contemporaries in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were well aware of the advantages that the topography of a county like Derbyshire provided for those who wished to avoid the scrutiny of authority, whether ecclesiastical or civil. Parts of the county were still densely forested or in a semi-cleared state, in the sixteenth century.¹ Norden's often quoted remark 'the people bred amongst woods are naturally more stubborn and uncivil than in the champion countries',² applies to Derbyshire as well as any other county at the time and the resultant wide tracts of waste and commons were attractive to the landless and masterless men who may well have formed a substantial part of those who adhered to various non-conformist sects in the seventeenth century. It also contrasts the north-west and central parts of the county with the south. The former was still being reclaimed from forest in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a process which the more prosperous eastern side had already undergone and was capitalizing on. The southern part of the county, carrying the process still further, was enclosed and improved by the end of the seventeenth century, providing a very different environment from that in the north.³ Enclosure was not an issue which caused much trouble, except for an isolated threat in 1607 when there was a general disturbance in the Midlands.⁴ Whether the inhabitants of the south were more tractable than those in the north cannot be determined by the map which shows a very clear division between the small parishes of the south where there was relatively little non-conformity and the vast parishes of the north

1. Thirsk, p.99, 104.

2. J. Norden, The Surveyor's Dialogue (London 1607), p.215.

3. G.E. Fussell, 'Four Centuries of Farming Systems in Derbyshire 1500-1900', DAJ, Vol LXXI.

4. Thirsk, p.235.

where dissent of various types appears to have flourished. During the first century of the history of the Quakers in Derbyshire the pattern is little different.

The sources for the history of Friends are traditionally good, and indeed by comparison with those of other non-conformist sects they are very full. Minutes of business meetings, both Monthly and Quarterly, are supplemented by the registers of birth, marriages and burials, together with deeds, settlement certificates, miscellaneous correspondence and the ephemera of any literate organisation. These are the local sources for any Quaker community and they can sometimes be amplified, and nearly always corroborated by the central sources of the Yearly Meeting minutes, the Meeting for Sufferings and the minutes of the Quarterly Meetings in other counties. In addition there are printed journals and letters which constitute a more personal record of the history of the movement.

Derbyshire Monthly Meeting minutes are variable in their survival rate: least remains from Low Leighton, or Slackhall Meetings which was always rather detached from the other Monthly Meetings and finally transferred to the Cheshire Quarterly Meeting. Relatively little has survived except for the draft Montly Meeting minutes, notices about which are interspersed with notes on the price of butter and nineteenth century doodles.¹ By contrast Monyash Monthly Meeting has a minute book purchased by John Gratton in 1672 which contains reasonably detailed information for the first thirty years and sufficient information for the remaining period to make a reconstruction of the affairs of this Meeting possible.² Chesterfield Monthly Meeting probably had a minute book prior to the extant one which dates

1. CCRO EFC/3/1.

2. Q 86.

from 1691, both this and the subsequent book being kept in some detail by the succeeding clerks to the Meeting.¹ Breach, or Whitelee, Monthly Meeting clerks kept the most meticulous records of all the Monthly Meetings but only from 1701.²

The business of the Monthly Meetings was sedulously noted down by the clerks but it is clear from the accounts which are extant that matters considered in the Monthly Meetings were not automatically mentioned. Details of property transactions such as the purchase of Overend farm from Alice Booth in 1702 by Chesterfield Monthly Meeting for £80 merit no mention in the minutes though there is a subsequent document assigning the remainder of the lease of the property for 1,000 years to trustees.³ Chesterfield Monthly Meeting has a very short run of accounts in the back of the minute book, and it is a matter of guesswork as to how many other matters of importance to the Meetings might have been recorded there and nowhere else. Some Meetings, such as that at Breach, kept detailed accounts in with the Monthly Meeting minutes but in the case of the other three Meetings it was largely details of poor relief handed out and, sometimes, rents coming in.

The Monthly Meeting material is supplemented by certificates for marriage and removal, by certificates of disownment, by deeds conveying property or assigning trustees, accounts of Sufferings, licences for meeting houses and, occasionally, plans. Those for Chesterfield Monthly Meeting are the most prolific, followed by Breach Monthly Meeting where, once they started to keep records, the clerks seem to have been very painstaking. Less survives for Monyash, perhaps partly because the

1. Q 62B,C.
2. Q 59.
3. Q 159.

Meeting merged with Chesterfield in 1735, and practically nothing for Slackhall.

The minutes of the Men's Quarterly Meeting in Derbyshire survive in an unbroken record from 1672 up to the moment of amalgamation with Nottinghamshire Quarterly Meeting in 1761.¹ The Women's Quarterly Meeting minutes² date from nine years later (1681) but are disappointing in their content, being almost exclusively concerned with payments of poor relief. The accounts of Sufferings³ and the registers of birth, marriages and burials⁴ constitute an important part of the sources available at the Quarterly Meeting level both of which were kept, though sometimes in the case of the registers in a very patchy fashion, from the earliest years of the movement. The first entries in both are clearly retrospective but no Monthly Meeting registers of births, marriages and burials survive as they do in Nottinghamshire: the Quarterly Meeting clerks were thus probably totally dependent on information written on scraps of paper which might, or might not, be brought up to the Meeting regularly. It is clear from the number of marriages to which the Monthly Meeting gave their consent, but which were not recorded, that the registers are not complete in that respect. Similarly the burial registers frequently omit to mention the names of the poor who died while dependent on Friends' charity, thus rendering them suspect for the record of those deaths cannot be ascertained from other sources. The birth registers often have no record of the children of Friends who subsequently married within the Society and who must be presumed to have been birthright members.

1. Q 61A.

2. Q 61B.

3. Q 62A.

4. Digests at Nottingham Meeting House and at the Library of the Society of Friends: originals at the Public Records Office RG6.

Amongst the other papers kept by the Quarterly Meeting in Derbyshire are the written and printed epistles sent from London and advice issued by the Meeting for Sufferings. This in itself is interesting but does nothing to indicate the scope of material available in central sources about local matters.

Meeting for Sufferings minutes¹ recorded the occasions on which Friends from outside London requested advice or assistance from Friends in the capital. Although they appear to be relatively infrequent for Derbyshire there are a number of entries concerning law suits or prosecutions, no hint of which is given in the records kept at county level. The attitude of Derbyshire Friends to political issues is also very one-sided if traced solely from the county records. Yearly Meeting minutes² provide details of contributions to National Stock and special collections - such as that in 1692 for the Irish - as well as the answers sent by each Quarterly Meeting to the Yearly Queries. These can be very illuminating about the state of education or the prevalence of 'unquiet spirits'.

The other major source written by Friends themselves are the journals, pamphlets, tracts and letters which have been printed³ or made available in collections,⁴ and of the more personal ones, John Gratton's Journal⁵ and the collection of letters published under the title A Quaker Post-Bag⁶ are particularly relevant to Derbyshire.

1. LSF.

2. "

3. e.g. The Friends' Library comprising journals, doctrinal treatises, and other writings of the Religious Society of Friends, W. Evans and T. Evans eds. (Philadelphia, 1843) 14 vols.

4. e.g. Swarthmore MSS, LSF.

5. Journal of the life of that ancient servant of Christ John Gratton (London, 1795).

6. Mrs G. Locker Lampson ed. A Quaker Post-bag (Longmans, 1910).

Manuscript sources apart from those written by Friends themselves are frequently those which are antagonistic to the movement. Both civil and ecclesiastical authorities recorded their judgements against Friends in the appropriate courts. The Quarter Sessions records for Derbyshire are not complete until 1682: the proceedings were held at Chesterfield, Bakewell and Derby and although some of the proceedings for the 1650s in Derby have recently come to light, they are not yet open for inspection. Both civil and ecclesiastical sources contain information about Friends, the significance of which seems frequently to have been either unappreciated, overlooked or deliberately disregarded by contemporaries. Lists of those presented include Quakers who were designated under the general heading of 'recusants' or 'non-attenders at the parish church'. When G. Lyon Turner published extracts from the Episcopal visitations before 1689 for Derbyshire,¹ he commented that all the presentations were from an area east of the Derwent. The others went unremarked as they had not been identified as Quakers in the records. Wills offer a fruitful source for much information about Friends and in this area the ecclesiastical authorities seem to have acted consistently and moderately efficiently. These, together with all the other ecclesiastical records are in the Lichfield Joint Record Office.

Further manuscript sources include those of the SPCK which contain a few references to Friends in Derbyshire, and some of the correspondence of Bishop Hackett amongst the Tanner MSS in the Bodleian Library. Most items such as these however add detail rather than substance to the general picture of Quakerism in the county.

1. G. Lyon Turner, JFHS Vol IV, p.70.

These are the sources I have used to outline the history of the Quaker movement in Derbyshire, to discover the meeting houses and the property which belonged to these tiny communities, their attitude towards and ability to provide poor relief for the less capable members, their education, their degree of literacy, their relationship with the established church, their tendency to marry away from their immediate environment and a host of other details which governed the daily life of a small part of the total Quaker membership in a remote and often inhospitable region. There is a complete list in the bibliography and mnemonics used to identify the more important manuscript sources are included in the list of abbreviations. I have received immense help from the Librarian at Friends House, Edward Milligan, and his staff Malcolm Thomas and Jon North; Derbyshire County Record Office and Nottinghamshire County Record Office have both been very patient with my enquiries when I was no longer working in Nottingham; the staff at Lichfield Joint Record Office, and in particular Jane Isaac, have been most kind guiding me round the records of the Established Church. Many others have also made their contribution and to all I am extremely grateful.

CHAPTER I

MEMBERSHIP AND MEETINGS

1. Location

The geological divisions of Derbyshire give it three very distinct regions, which coincide quite noticeably with the Quaker settlement pattern. (See Map 1.) Friends flourished on the coal measures of the eastern side of the county, particularly around Chesterfield and Whittington. Predictably non-conformity also appears in the Peak where many Friends were to be found in the seventeenth century. The bare and rugged limestone hills were noted by every topographical writer who penetrated the district, its bleak atmosphere and its steep sided valleys where little communication was possible for many months of the year. They were described by Gratton as the 'dern valleys of the hy Peak country' in his proud preface to the Monthly Meeting minute book which he bought for the meetings settled round Monyash.¹ Further to the north west, in what was still a limestone district but which was on the edge of the cloth working area, there were a number of quite prosperous Friends who were described as clothiers. The southern third of the county however, Keuper Red Marl from Doveridge to Long Eaton, was very different in character and apart from a few isolated Friends in Derby the movement was demonstrably unsuccessful there until the latter part of the eighteenth century.

The geological divisions of the county cannot, in themselves, explain the way in which Quakers congregated. They must however be at least part of the reason for the parochial pattern, which has a more direct bearing on the places in which Friends lived. The northwestern region, inhospitable

1. Q 86 Dern = dark, lonely. Dialect Dictionary.

bleak and windswept, was divided into few parishes, though there were a number of dependent chapelries. The churches were as poor as their parishioners, a point made by John Tatum when he was commenting on the state of the Anglican church in Derbyshire in 1701. He wrote 'that the Quakers as well as other Dissenters .. make many Proselytes among the Poor People of the Peake who live remote from Churches which from want of Tythes cannot be supplied as they ought.'¹ The Anglican clergy could not hope to control the inhabitants of parishes such as Glossop or Bakewell which together covered an area of nearly 100,000 acres. Tatum was not the only contemporary to notice how parochial pattern affected the lives of the inhabitants of the northern part of the county. Farey, writing a century later when the population had increased made the following observations: 'In the parts of the County where the large Parishes are situate, the number of Dissenting and Methodist Meeting Houses seem very numerous and are appropriate to most, if not all, of the prevailing Religious Sects.'... 'At the time when the very large districts which I have alluded to were laid out as single Parishes, it is to be presumed, that the population was very low, and most of the land unproductive commons and moors, the value of the livings being then proportionately small, but since so large a portion of the lands have been brought under productive cultivation and populous villages of Manufacturers have arisen, far exceeding many of the smaller parishes in the number of Inhabitants, and far removed from the Church or any of the Chapels of Ease belonging to the over-grown Parish to which they belong, a division of such Parishes has certainly been wanted, as well as larger and more commodious Buildings than the Chapels of Ease are, in numerous instances: to the erection of which the increased value of the

1. SPCK, CRI/OI IA, p.104-5.

Tithes as well as of the Lands, ought perhaps to have contributed. It has been the opinion of several Intelligent Gentlemen of such districts, with whom I have conversed, tho' far from being favourers of Dissenters from the National Church, that the morals of the lower class among them, would have suffered very materially, from this cause, but for the exertions of the Dissenting and Methodist Preachers among them, and have related to me several instances of visible improvements in the sobriety and orderly conduct of their labourers in general, since the Chapels, which everywhere meet the eye of the Traveller in such districts, were erected.'¹

This settlement pattern of large parishes where there was a notable expanse of waste land, moorland or forest is a recurrent one through the history of non-conformity² and is amply confirmed by the Quaker records themselves without needing the corroboration of observant travellers. When hounded out of the houses in which they were attempting to hold meetings Friends met on the moors and wastes in Derbyshire in exactly the same way as they did in the more northern counties: Thomas Brocksopp alleged that he was falsely accused in 1665 by the clerk of the peace, Thomas Bennit, 'who said that the abovenamed Thomas was att a meetinge upon Clinton Heath.'³ In 1669, the ecclesiastical returns mentioned that some Quakers 'intended to meete att the house of Hugh Marston [in Ashford] but the justices' warrant being brought to hinder them they went into a Moore and kept their Conventicle'⁴ There were plenty of other similar occasions. One difference to be noted about Friends however must not be lost in the generalisations about the seed beds of non-conformity. Whereas Dr. Hill and others have aruged forcibly that the

1. Farey, A General View of the Agriculture of Derbyshire 1811.

2. A.Everitt, 'The Pattern of Rural Dissent: the Nineteenth Century', Leicester University Occasional Papers, Second Series, No.4 (Leicester University Press, 1972) p.19.

3. Q 62A, 3.7.1665.

4. Lambeth Palace Library, Tennison MSS, Vol.639, f.191V.

combination of extensive parishes, disputed jurisdictions, extra-parochial areas with waste, forest and moor was conducive to the spread of dissenting opinions, this was often accentuated because such areas tended to be populated by 'masterless men'.¹ Dr. Hill identifies five different categories but Friends did not form a significant part of the shifting population to which he was referring. Unidentifiable as a distinct class they do not give the impression of having come to believe in the message of George Fox because of their living standards. They did not live on the kind of land which Defoe described just north of Chatsworth 'a vast extended moor or waste, which for fifteen or sixteen miles together due north, presents you with neither hedge, house or tree but a waste and howling wilderness...'², but in the valleys which were allegedly more prosperous. Their general connection with areas where the Anglican church was not strong is, however, undeniable and they often met on the wastes.

The parochial pattern on the east side of the county is very similar, with large parishes coinciding almost precisely with the coal measures. Where, however, the coal gives way to the marl in the south, the parochial pattern is immediately different. The predominance of the large parishes in the coal area is not as noticeable as in the Peak district, the districts which border with Nottinghamshire being more broken up into parishes varying in size between 2,000 and 4,000 acres, but these were balanced by Chesterfield, Ashover, Dronfield and Duffield, all of which were over 10,000 acres. Less desolate than the western part of the county the region contained Chesterfield which was regarded as the most prosperous market of the district. Defoe, despite his London bias, commented favourably that it was 'a handsome populous town, well built and well inhabited, notwithstanding

1. C.Hill, The World Turned Upside Down, (Penguin, 1975), c.3.

2. D.Defoe, A tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain 1724-6, (Penguin, 1971), p.476.

it stands in the farthest part of this rocky country ... here is little or no manufacture'.¹ Despite the natural draw exerted by the town which made it the centre of Quakerism in Derbyshire throughout the period, the early records of the Chesterfield Monthly Meeting contain references to districts which were considerably less urban and include both Brampton Moor and Tupton Moor whither Friends resorted when in trouble.

The southern third of the county presents a distinct contrast parochially as well as geologically to the areas already discussed. It contains more parishes than the other two areas put together and even Repton parish, one of the largest in the area, is under 7,000 acres. It may well be that Anglican predominance in these small parishes, where a close watch could be kept on non-conformists, inhibited the growth of a freedom of thought which further north was encouraged by a lack of contact with Anglican teaching, parochial care and discipline. The geological difference undoubtedly influenced the break up of this area into smaller units which were dependent on a very different type of farming from the north of the county and the mining which occupied the inhabitants of the eastern part of the county.

Any attempt to attribute a settlement pattern to one, or a related set of causes must be fallible. Other factors affected the location of Friends, in particular contact between members. The survival of Chesterfield, and to a lesser extent the district round Alfreton, as centres of Quakerism throughout the period was in part due to the close contact which existed with Friends in Mansfield, Farnsfield and Oxton. Communications were inevitably better where the network of roads was improved and developed in response to the needs of industry. Later in the eighteenth century

1. Defoe, Tour, p.479.

came the canals, a further powerful source for bringing Friends together in business contact. Lack of adequate roads, and tracks which were only passable in the summer months resulted in the isolation of groups of Friends in the north western half of the county, though this was also experienced by Friends in Dronfield parish which borders on Chesterfield parish at one point. Communication with other Friends was not, by itself, enough to ensure the continued presence of Quakerism in an area.

Mutual sympathy amongst members of a similar trade, industry or class has often been regarded as one of the prime reasons for the spread of ideas, and no less so in the case of Friends who interlaced their business and religious communications. Members of the Society in Derbyshire were not sufficiently conglomerate to trace evidence of such influence on the settlement pattern but the cloth trade probably exerted some sort of unifying influence in the north west, and the dyeing industry in Chesterfield. Apart from connections with agriculture, a pattern visible all over the country, there is little sign of regional occupations amongst Friends which are directly related to the geological structure of the area, though there must have been a greater number of coal and lead miners than are mentioned in the records.

Professor Vann has noted the tendency of Friends to withdraw into the urban areas in Buckinghamshire during a period comparable to the one discussed here,¹ and it is clear that while Derbyshire Friends already had a tendency to live in Chesterfield and the surrounding area they did so to an increasing extent as the more distant meetings failed. In this they were no different from the other inhabitants of Derbyshire. In the early seventeenth century the greater part of the population lived in the semi-

1. Vann, p.163.

industrial portion of the county - in the Wirksworth Wapentake and the Scarsdale and High Peak Hundreds.¹ Friends followed much the same pattern, although the proportion was even higher. Whereas two-thirds of all able bodied men in the county in 1635 came from the northern area, nearly six-sevenths of all Quaker families lived in these districts during the period 1650 - 1760.

Meetings

Early sources for Derbyshire meetings are basically those found in central Quaker records, letters or journals; or amongst the papers of those who were hostile to Friends. The county was visited frequently by Fox and other early Friends who attended meetings on the borders of Derbyshire as well as making converts within the county.

Fox's first visit in 1647 resulted in many 'discourses' being held and he undoubtedly engaged the attention of many.² The geographical structure of the county made division into areas inevitable and the Peak district where he was greeted with enthusiasm was referred to as a separate area on this first visit. He noted that he 'met with more friendly people' though 'some in empty high notions'.³

The following year, 1648, he travelled through Mansfield and along the Nottinghamshire/Derbyshire border, a district which later became very influential in the Quarterly Meetings of both counties. He noticed that 'in Derbyshire the mighty power of God is wrought in a wonderful manner'.⁴

1. VCH, Vol.II, p.184.

2. Journal, p.9.

3. " p.9.

4. " p.26.

At Eaton [Long Eaton] many were so overcome 'that they were moved by the Lord to go to steeplehouses, to the priests and to the people, to declare the everlasting Truth unto them'.¹ Interest was awakened on the east border and by the following year (1649) had spread north to Chesterfield where a priest had been partially convinced. Thomas Bretland did not maintain his conviction but several more were converted 'and the Lord's power began to spread mightily up and down in those parts'.²

By 1650 the authorities had begun to view Fox as a potential trouble maker and when he spoke in Derby he was committed to the House of Correction for an initial sentence of six months which was extended for a further half year when he refused to become an army officer.³ William Edmundson reported considerable interest in, together with antagonism to Friends in Derbyshire in 1651 'At this time the common discourse of all sorts of people was of the Quakers and various reports were of them; the priests everywhere were angry against them and the baser sort of people spared not to tell strange stories of them...'⁴ Two Quaker women subsequently preached in Chesterfield one market day and were much abused by the priest.

After Fox's release from gaol in 1651 he returned in 1652 to 'a market town' in Derbyshire: this may have been Chesterfield but his reception was not enthusiastic. He was expelled by the crowd who had gathered to hear him, though he found a congenial host for the night at an unnamed country house.⁵

By 1654 the activity of Quakers in this area had attracted official notice and the county has the dubious privilege of being the first to be mentioned in connection with Friends in the State papers. Colonel

1. Journal, p.26.
 2. " p.50.
 3. " p.51.

4. Friends Library, Vol II, p.95.
 5. Journal, p.103.

Saunders was given authority by the Council to suppress 'the tumultuous and numerous meetings',¹ of which they had lately received report. The aim of the Council was to prevent any seditious meetings: Quakers were specifically named as undesirables and authority for arrest was given to the Colonel 'if you shall finde amongst them any persons whose notorious disaffection to the present government, or former adherence to the Enemyes of Parliament shall render justly suspicious.'²

It is unclear if these disturbances were partly based on a report of a meeting held by Fox in the same year when accompanied by the sheriff of Lincoln. On that occasion a number of bailiffs and serving men attempted to abduct him but were foiled. A conflict of evidence about the growth of the society occurs at this date which is probably attributable to the sources. The Council was concerned about the growth of unlicensed meetings, about which they had little detailed local knowledge: James Naylor however, writing to Fox was less enthusiastic about the number of Friends in Derbyshire at the same date '...there is much coldness in these parts but they begin to be sensible of it and some are awakened..³ John Whitehead wrote more optimistically 'the desait in that shire is much dashed and they that dwell in the truth in the least measure is much got up'.⁴ In the same letter he mentions meetings at Tupton and Heanor, both important centres for Derbyshire at a later date. 1655, according to Quaker sources, seems to have marked a significant rise in the number of Friends in Derbyshire: 'the Lord's power came over all, and many were turned from the darkness to the Light and from the power of Satan unto God and come to receive the Holy Ghost: and great miracles by the power of the Lord were done in many places by several'.⁵

1. State Papers Domestic, 14 June 1654.

2. " "

3. Swarthmore MSS 3.74.

4. " 4.63.

5. Journal, p.223.

Fox did not mention Derbyshire again until 1658 when he was in the Midlands but he spoke of 'glorious' meetings in the region. From 1659 onwards references to organised meetings become more numerous in Quaker records although formal meetings were not yet established. In the first volume of the Book of Sufferings Meetings were mentioned from 1659 to which it is clear many were going. Numbers were unspecified but over forty people were hauled out of a meeting at Dronfield in 1661. The same year meetings were held at Eyam and Derby and two years later at Chesterfield and Ashbourne. Fox mentioned a meeting at Captain Lingard's house (probably John Lingard of Slackhall, Chapel-en-le-Frith) the same year and it seems that the basic pattern for meetings was set down during the following decade. This was despite considerable persecution. In 1666 a large meeting was held in Derbyshire following a meeting in Cinder Hill Green, according to Fox.¹ Situated on the border of Yorkshire and Derbyshire, near Woodhouse, this was the location for a number of significant meetings.

The establishment of the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings for the area probably took place at Basford, near Leek, when Fox was staying at Thomas Hammersley's home in 1667. A General Men's Meeting was held after he had had a difficult journey over the Peak hills which were covered in snow and frost.² The first minutes of the Men's Quarterly Meeting for Derbyshire date from 1672, and were held at Tupton. Early meetings were likely to be disrupted and the last entry for 1675 stated 'The Quarterly Meetings that are omitted setting down here there was not any businesse in them done (by reason of disturbance from the world) that requires recording.'³ Gaps in the records occur between 29.7.1675 till the same date the following year with similar omissions between 25.1.1680 and 24.4.1681 and between 15.10.1682 and 25.10.1683. Prior to 1683 the Quarterly Meetings

1. Journal, p.508.

2. " " p.513.

3. Q 61A, 29.7.1675.

were always held at Tupton but when they were resumed they were held in a number of places, possibly to prevent further disruption. This may be reflected in a move back to Tupton during the later 1680s, when persecution was less severe, and the almost exclusive use of Chesterfield and Tupton up to 1761. In 1719 a suggestion was made by Slackhall Monthly Meeting that the Quarterly Meeting should be held only at Chesterfield but objections, albeit unconvincing, were raised by Breach Monthly Meeting. Despite periodic discussion over the following five years Breach Friends remained obdurate and the existing arrangement was maintained. Considering the proximity of Tupton to Chesterfield - four and a half miles - it is hard to understand why the matter was quite as vital as appears in the minutes: possibly a clash of personalities was involved which went unrecorded. At the time of the union with Nottinghamshire Quarterly Meeting it was agreed that one Quarterly Meeting should in future be held at Chesterfield, one at Nottingham to coincide with the General Meeting and two at Mansfield.

The Women's Quarterly Meeting met solely for the purposes of giving assistance to the poor and, judging by the accounts, collections were noted from 1672.¹ Details of the amounts given to individuals were not entered until 1681 and even after that there were some gaps until the continuous record began in 1693. The predominant force in the meeting appears to have been Chesterfield Women's Monthly Meeting for which minutes do not exist before 1763. (There are however occasional entries in the Men's Monthly Meeting Minutes which suggest that such a meeting was held.²) The women usually held their Quarterly Meeting on the same day and in the same place as the men, occasionally either a day before or a day later. This arrangement would obviously be most convenient when Friends had to travel considerable distances to attend such meetings.

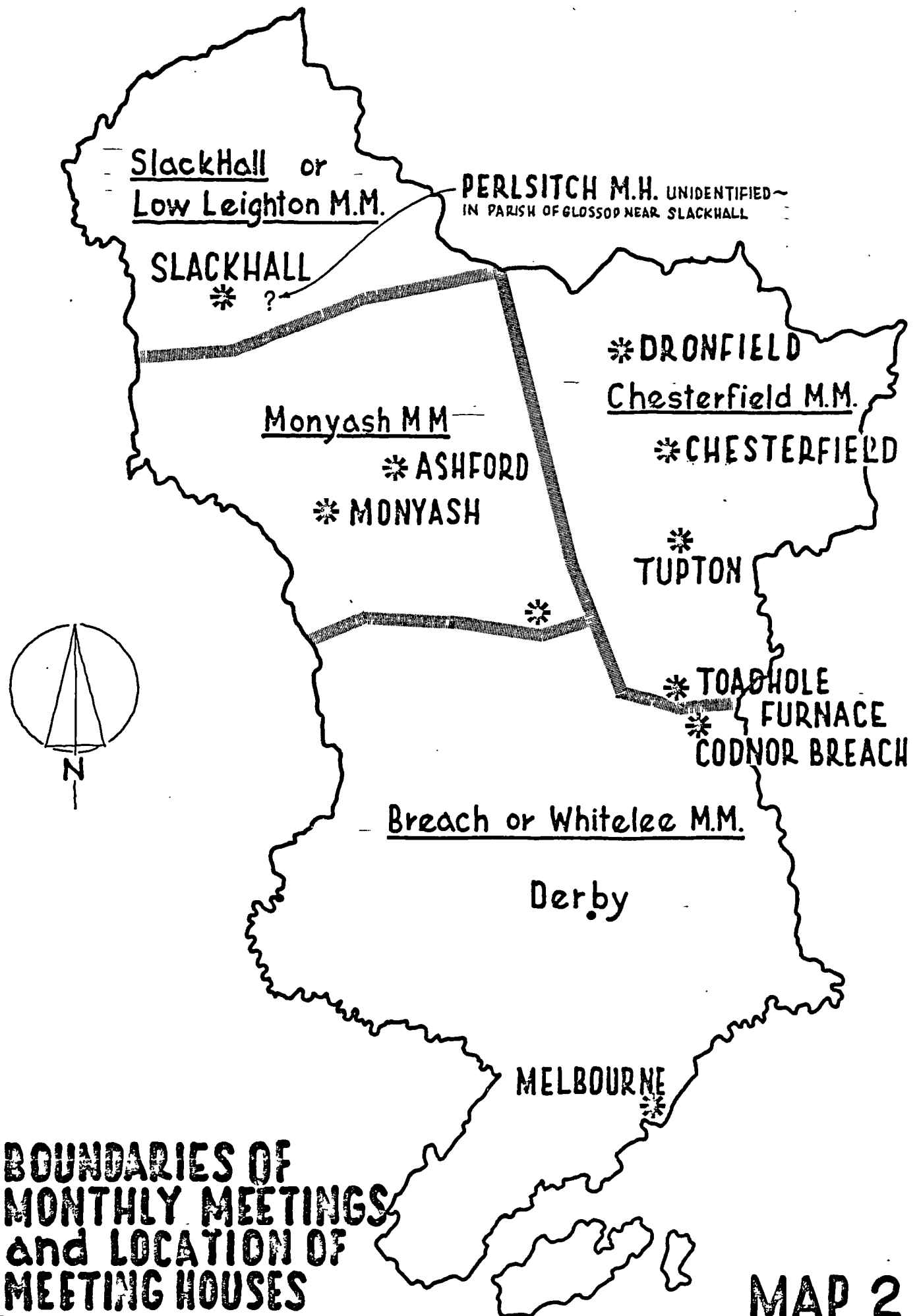
1. Q 61B.

2. Q 62B, 17.11.1698/9.

General Meetings for worship were held regularly in Derbyshire from 1704 onwards. The only record of this being instituted is in Breach Monthly Meeting Minute book where a graphic description of the decision was inserted. 'The Quarterly Meeting concluded to have a first day meeting once a Quarter upon the Account to drag Friends to meetings the more a here they find a slackness and may be a meanes to drag other people two meeting onely agreed and the other as Friends shall think may be servisable'.¹ The Quarterly Meeting minutes for 21.1.1700 noted that a general meeting for Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire was to be held on the 25th-26th of the second month of each year, but there was only one further mention of this.² It may not have been intended for worship alone as two overseers from each meeting were to attend.³ The only other reference to a joint General Meeting was in 1718 when Friends on the edge of Cheshire and Derbyshire joined together at the new meeting house at Slackhall. The actual erection of the meeting house had been a joint venture however, so it is hardly surprising that Friends from both Quarterly Meetings joined together to celebrate.

The location and date of the General Meetings was fixed at the Quarterly Meeting. They were usually held during the subsequent month on a first day and at meeting houses in all the four monthly meetings by rather irregular turn, though fewer were held in the Slackhall area, presumably because of its inaccessibility and the relatively small number of Friends in that region. Although General Meetings were not appointed after every Quarterly Meeting there was no decision to limit the number per year at any time and no complaints were registered about lack of attendance.

1. Q 59, 29.4.1704.
 2. Q 61A, 29.1.1705.
 3. Q 61A, 21.1.1700.



Two references to meetings for ministering Friends, in 1698 and 1703 indicate that these were held either before or after the Quarterly Meeting, and in 1698 meetings were fixed to take place twice a year.¹ At this first meeting, held at Chesterfield on 5.8.1698 those who attended gave accounts of how they became ministers, the procedure for laying objections against ministers was outlined and the usual exhortations made to those absent. These meetings may have been the same as those referred to as public meetings. One was organised for the day before the third Quarterly Meeting but there was no reference to who was expected to attend.²

Preparative meetings for the Quarterly Meeting were instituted in 1700³ but it was not considered necessary to hold them more than twice a year. For the sake of convenience they were to be on the same days as the Christmas and Midsummer Quarterly Meetings, but at 9.00am. There are no extant, separate, records for any such meetings.

Despite the likelihood that Monthly Meetings were established in 1667 no records survive of their inauguration, nor are there any lists of how the county was divided up, such as there are for Nottinghamshire.⁴ This may have been due at least in part to the fact that the county was easily divisible into four main Monthly Meetings by the geographical formation. (See Map 2.)

The northern area, known as Slackhall or Low Leighton Monthly Meeting comprised the north-west tip of the county. This was always very distant geographically from the centre of Derbyshire affairs at Chesterfield and later, in 1738, Friends from this area joined themselves to Cheshire Quarterly Meeting with which they had been associated for a long time.

1. Q 61A, 30.4.1698.
2. " 31.7.1697.

3. Q 61A, 3.8.1700.
4. Q 55A.

The compass of this meeting probably extended as far south as Tideswell and Eyam before the influence of the Monyash Meeting became strong. The records for this meeting are particularly sparse and intermittent and rarely give a precise location for the meetings. As far as it is possible to tell they were held in rotation at Low Leighton, Slackhall and Wethercoates. What is clear however, is that there was difficulty in maintaining the Monthly Meeting and by 1732 winter meetings had been dropped.¹ Thereafter reports to the Quarterly Meeting indicate that even summer Monthly Meetings were hard to keep up. This may have been partly because communications with the Quarterly Meeting were not good: a total of twenty three Friends signed a marriage certificate for Daniel Bradbury and Ann Bradbury at Low Laughton Monthly Meeting in 1735² but some of these were Friends from Cheshire. The meeting may also have been augmented by the celebration of the marriage at the same time. Suggestions for union with members of Monyash Monthly Meeting as early as 1693³ were several times delayed, most of the initiative having come from the Monyash Meeting. By 1696 it was decided to postpone a decision until John Gratton returned⁴ and eighteen months later the combination was agreed in principle.⁵ There is no evidence that it actually took place though the fact that the draft Monthly Meeting minute book for Slackhall begins about the same time is suggestive. It is such a collection of odd bits of information jumbled out of order that it is difficult to tell which items were added retrospectively, but as the meetings are minuted rather more coherently from the end of 1697/8 it seems possible that the original meeting split, some Friends joining the Monyash and others forming a new group which undertook to keep slightly better records and was increasingly dominated by Cheshire Quarterly Meeting. Communications with Cheshire were

1. Q 61A, 6.2.1732.

2. CCRO, EFC 3/2.

3. Q 86, 7.10.1693.

4. " 7.3.1696.

5. " 2.7.1697.

strong and co-operation between the two counties in this area was undoubtedly good. Most of the active Friends lived close to the border and had more in common with Morley Monthly Meeting than with the eastern side of Derbyshire, the other side of the Peak.

Weekday and First Day meetings were frequently held at houses belonging to Friends, detail again being sparse. William Beard's house was in use in 1697 for such meetings together with Joseph Bancroft's house at Shaw and Joseph Lingard's at Slackhall. These were on a regular basis. Reginald Bradbury's house at Little Heathfield and Samuel Mellor's at [P]inder were used alternately.¹ By 1700 all were to be at Low Laughton, but that held at Samuel Mellor's house² and two years later arrangements were again changed, three meetings being held at Pearlsitch and the fourth at Slackhall.³ A long silence about these between 1702 and 1718 makes it difficult to ascertain where meetings were being held but thereafter intermittent comments suggest that meetings for worship were at least being maintained. It is possible they were kept up with more regularity than the Monthly Meetings as they were more local and more accessible.

According to John Gratton there were no meetings on the Monyash side of the High Peak in 1669-70 though there must have been some Friends in the area. Fox had specifically mentioned the district in his Journal and Gratton had met Quakers when he was first searching for the truth. Characteristically the information he gathered when enquiring about the location of meetings was not recounted in the Journal, nor did he relate where he was at the time. It would seem, however, that some were convinced at the unspecified market which he was attending.⁴ It was no doubt in a similar fashion that he

1. CCRO EFC 3/1, 4.12.1697.
 2. " " 6.4.1700.
 3. " " -.4.1702.
 4. Journal, p.38.

heard of a meeting at Exton, to be held at widow Farney's house. Braithwaite has identified this as Eyam where Richard Furnis and his wife Margaret lived.¹ They had been excommunicated in 1665 and were well known Friends; Richard died in 1670 which would tie in with a later description of Margaret as widow. Although there were other Friends at Eyam they may have been reduced in number by the plague of 1666 in which a large proportion of the inhabitants died. Gratton mentions 'divers friends [at the meeting who] were come many miles'² to attend. From that moment he began to organize and convince Friends in the area, holding meetings in his own house, amongst other places.³ He purchased the Monthly Meeting minute book and made the first entry which is worth quoting for its graphic description of the situation of Friends at that time in the area. 'This book was bought the 21 day of the 12 month 1672 the prise was 2s10d and is for the use of the church and people of God called by his grace and gathered and knit together by and in his spirit of light life and love in which wee now meet and assemble together ... tho wee are a poore unworthy and dispised people scattered amongst the rocky mountains and dern valleys of the hy Peak country ...'⁴

The area covered by this Monthly Meeting extended north as far as Bradwell, two miles S.E. of Castleton, and south as far as Matlock. To the west, Monyash had a meeting house and was for about thirty seven years the home of John Gratton; to the east, Peasonhurst and Buntingfield were both locations for early meetings. The difficult terrain of the High Peak meant that the meetings were particularly hard to maintain once the initial impetus for the formation of this Monthly Meeting had gone. Friends

1. Braithwaite, Vol II, p.373.

2. Journal, p.39.

3. " p.50. (Mss. addition to edition of 1720. Copy formerly in Grace Church Street Meeting. LSF Acc.No.7352)

4. Q.86.

were inclined to group together in areas, particularly when bad weather inhibited travelling. Thus the Peak Forest district with Friends at Bradwall, Little Hucklow, Grindlow and Eyam were distinct from those on the Monyash side of the Wye valley or those on Matlock side who were on the eastern side of the valley. The three early locations for the Monthly Meetings were also sites for meeting houses - Monyash, Matlock and Ashford, though these were not always used for Monthly Meetings when the centre of the meetings changed. Other places for Monthly Meetings included Smyrril and Elton.

By 1715 the Monthly Meetings were reported to the Quarterly Meeting as only held when specially appointed.¹ As with the Slackhall meeting it seems likely that a number of Friends remained faithful but found little time or inclination to travel long distances to business meetings. Entries in the Monthly Meeting book such as that for 8.10.1720 were not uncommon: 'several frends were exspeakted to have been here butt none came but Elihu Hall jr. wee wish there might be better care taken of church affairs and meetings kept closeer too ...'²

Matlockside Friends were particularly bad at attending meetings. By 1692 the Monthly Meeting conceded that as days were short in winter First Day Meetings, as well as Weekly Meetings, could be held on Matlockside.³

Three years later the poverty of Friends in that area was pleaded as an excuse for non-attendance. Sometimes the Weekly and First Day Meetings were kept up, sometimes circumstances were adverse, bad weather being one of the chief problems, and Friends did not meet even locally. In 1716 smallpox was thought to have contributed to the absence of some.⁴ By 1729

1. Q 61A , 6.8.1715.

2. Q 86.

3. "

4. Q 61A, 29.1.1716.

only two First Day Meetings a month were held within the compass of the whole meeting but despite suggestions the year before that the meeting should join with that of Chesterfield, union did not take place until 1735. The reason finally given for the amalgamation was a decrease in numbers amongst Friends of the area which must have made the organization of the meetings extremely difficult. It was particularly dependent on the activities of a number of leading families and when these failed, the meeting also declined. Emigration was also responsible for a substantial reduction in numbers. John Gratton provided inspiration for many years until he moved to Farnsfield in 1707: the Bowman family at Smyrril Grange and One Ash Grange housed meetings and took an active part as trustees and responsible persons within the meeting but there were fewer of them by the mid eighteenth century: between 1719 and 1724 meetings were frequently held at the house of George Potter but when he committed adultery with his woman servant, meetings were promptly withdrawn from his house, although he issued a testimony against himself and continued to act as a member of the Monthly Meeting.

If Weekly and First Day Meetings for worship were maintained with difficulty it seems unlikely that the initiative taken over the establishment of a General Meeting for the High Peak was sustained. In 1688 monthly General Meetings were established¹ but the last reference to them in the Monthly Meeting minutes was in 1695 when the number of locations was halved.²

References to the Monyash Women's Meeting are very sparse. It seems unlikely that an effective or regular meeting was ever established, though in 1687 the Monthly Meeting recorded the intention. '...it is found

1. Q 86, 7.12.1688.

2. Q 86, 4.2.1695.

needful that the women friends belonging to this Monthly Meeting to come together and get up there Monthly Meeting and take care to doe there duty to God and to all mankind'.¹ To facilitate organization the meeting was held on the same day as the Men's Monthly Meeting but the problem of travelling was apparently too great to be overcome .. 'as for women's meetings our women is not yet able to keep a meeting being they are so farr from one a nother'.² It was not referred to again.

Chesterfield Monthly Meeting was the most influential in the county. It appears to have first rivaled and secondly dominated the Quarterly Meeting, and geographically it covered a wide area. To the north and east its compass stretched as far as the county boundary, to the west it went as far as Dronfield and in the south to Alfreton. The concentration of Friends along the county boundaries both to the north and east blurred the definitions between this and the surrounding Monthly Meetings, both in Derbyshire and other counties. Some meetings were held in what is technically Nottinghamshire at some periods, others were just inside the Derbyshire border but were undoubtedly attended by Friends from both counties.

Chesterfield was an obvious focal point for meetings on account of its function as a 'greate market towne' and Richard Farnworth reported the³ establishment of a 'new gathered church' there as early as 1652. He, James Naylor and Margaret Killam all attended Chesterfield meetings between that date and 1655 and there seems no reason to regard a hiatus in the records as evidence of a gap in the continuity of meetings. The Book of Sufferings mentions meetings at Chesterfield in 1663 and Tupton in 1665 and these remained the locations for the Monthly Meetings until the early eighteenth century. Although Tupton was relatively close to Chesterfield

1. Q 86, 3.1.1686/7.

2. " 3.7.1691.

3. Swarthmore MSS 1.372.

it was much used in the early years, particularly as the first meeting house for the county was built there. By 1713 however the Alfretonside Friends were left indifferent by the threat from the Monthly Meeting to move to Chesterfield on account of poor attendance.¹ As they were still very negligent in their attitude fifteen months later, the threat was carried out. The latter remained the principal meeting in the whole county though even this suffered from a decline in numbers. When visited by John Griffith in 1748 'the company was small, yet truth livingly favoured, opening counⁿsel for our help and encouragement in the way of well doing'.² Thirteen years later, when the question of union between *Notts. and Derbys* was under consideration, he again visited Chesterfield meeting which he described as a 'small weak meeting wherein discipline in divers of its branches was much neglected'. To modify an otherwise gloomy account he conceded that 'divine goodness was livingly manifested' but the final paper that he drew up for the Quarterly Meeting contained remarks on the 'mournful declension found amongst them..³

The erection of a meeting house in 1743 by Matthew Hopkinson at Toadhole Furnace must have been partly in response to a need for a centre in the extreme south of the compass of the Chesterfield meeting, though it was only used for meetings for worship, not Monthly Meetings, before 1761.

The problems of the Friends to the north, in Dronfield, were greater since they found it difficult to get to Chesterfield in the winter or to send representatives when their numbers were dwindling towards the end of the period. Frequently no-one could spare the time to attend Monthly Meetings. A meeting house was built there in the late 1720s

1. Q 62B, 17.9.1713.

2. Friends Library, Vol.II, p.429.

3. " " Vol.V, p.415.

though Friends were warned at the Quarterly Meeting to ensure that it would not prove injurious to the Chesterfield Meeting.¹ Only rarely did they hold a separate Monthly Meeting but they frequently held Weekday and First Day meetings. These dwindled as the century progressed. In 1758 Joseph Oxley reported that on his visit to the meeting, which was small, 'a little bread was handed with hard labour.'²

Chesterfield Women's Monthly Meeting must have been formed, though the assumption can only be inferred from stray references to it in the Men's Quarterly and Monthly Meeting minute books. In 1698 a request for help was made to the Men's Monthly Meeting for money to buy some tow on which to set some poor Friends to work 'that they may not be burdensome to Friends as they have been'.³ Entries which clearly relate to such meetings were sometimes recorded in the Women's Quarterly Meeting which was, in any case, largely run by Chesterfield Friends.

Weekday and First Day Meetings were held at various places: Chesterfield Monthly Meeting recorded a regular First Day Meeting by 1697 which was held elsewhere only on the last first day of the month. This could be either at Tupton or Normanton, both of which were fairly inconvenient for Friends in Dronfield. From 1700 the latter usually held their own meetings between Michaelmas and Lady Day when the meeting was not at Chesterfield. The strong influence of certain Friends who lived in outlying areas sometimes resulted in the transfer of meetings to their houses, either temporarily or permanently. Thus Abraham Sampson's request for a meeting at his house at Stainsby was met in 1728 and 1729.⁴ Meetings were kept up reasonably well, judging by the lack of reports to

1. Q 61A, 25.4.1719.

2. Friends Library, Vol.II, p.429.

3. Q 62B, 17.11.1698/9.

4. Q 62B, 18.5.1728.

the contrary, though by 1722 it was thought expedient to hold the early First Day meeting at 10.00 am in order to permit country members to get back for the meeting at 2.00pm.¹ This afternoon meeting appears to have been instituted in 1715: Chesterfield Friends requested 'that they may have an evening [sic] meeting after first day meeting for this somertime for the benefit of keeping the youth out of spending their time loosely therefore it is agreed ... that one should be held, when in Chesterfield, about the third hour'.² The stimulus offered by the projected union of the Quarterly Meetings and the rationalization of the Derbyshire Monthly Meetings encouraged Friends to establish more Weekly and First Day meetings. Both Matlockside Friends (combined with Chesterfield since 1735) and Furnaceside Friends were prepared to consider such an extension of their activities in 1761.

The establishment of Preparative meetings was a question which concerned Chesterfield Friends in the mid-1730s: in 1733 the Monthly Meeting stated that such a meeting should be held on the first day before the Monthly Meeting³ but it would appear that the idea was unsuccessful. In 1735 Friends were asked to consider whether a Preparative Meeting would 'expedite the busyness': Tupton Friends concluded that it would, Chesterfield Friends were doubtful and the matter was deferred.⁴ The question was not alluded to again until 1754 when particular meetings were not given any choice but were asked to settle Preparative meetings as a matter of course.⁵

Breach, or Whitelee Monthly Meeting as it was called during its early history, covered the whole of the southern part of the county. Most of

1. Q 62B 21.1.1722/3
 2. " 21.2.1715.
 3. Q 61A 11.8.1733.
 4. Q 62C 15.3.1735.
 5. " 17.10.1754.

the area is Keuper Red Marl, a very different type of country from the limestones of the Slackhall and Monyash Meetings and the coal measures of the Chesterfield area. The geological variation may go some way to explain the fact that the centre of the Whitelee meeting was basically round Heanor and Codnor, the only part in which coal predominates. The more southern districts, where the employment pattern was presumably rather different, had only a very few meetings until the nineteenth century. The proximity of the Nottinghamshire Meetings in the Mansfield and Eastwood areas (also coal mining districts) was a stronger influence at this period than the larger town of Derby.

To the north, Bagthorpe, where Joshua Arnold lived, was a location for a meeting in 1685 and in the same year was used for a Quarterly Meeting.¹ The other boundaries of the Meeting coincided roughly with the county boundaries though one of the original outlying districts later joined another Quarterly Meeting nearer than Chesterfield. The western boundary of the Meeting was Ashbourne, where a few Friends lived, holding Meetings at the house of Mary Bartram at Clifton.² Emigration, or failure to transmit enthusiasm to the second generation caused the area to become insignificant by 1700 though a licence was taken out for a meeting house at Dovebridge in 1697 which may be Doveridge.³ To the south of the county Friends held a Meeting at Hartshorn, just north of Swadlingcote, in 1684.⁴ and William Cook endowed a meeting house in Melbourne for the use of Friends in 1703.⁵ This was given into the care of Derbyshire Friends as trustees but as the meetings in the south of the county declined it became increasingly used by Leicestershire Friends. It was taken into the care of Friends of

1. Q 61A, 1.8.1685.

2. Q 62A, 6.1.1664.

3. Cox, Vol I, p.367.

4. Q 61A, 26.4.1684.

5. LJRO, Will of William Cook.

of Swannington Meeting in 1738.¹ The decline in meetings at this southern tip of the county was probably the result of the strength of the meeting at Castle Donington and Long Eaton. Fox held a meeting at Eaton in 1648² and his imprisonment in Derby in 1650 resulted in a considerable amount of publicity for Friends. Some meetings were undoubtedly held in Derby though few Friends lived there. John Lawson regarded it as barren ground in 1655 when he wrote from Derby prison 'this towne is dead and the people are at ease and non seeke toward Sion but tow woman..³ By the time that the Monthly Meeting minutes begin, Little Chester was the common location and a specific request for a meeting there once a quarter was recorded in 1701.⁴ The first Monthly Meeting to be noted in the Quarterly Meeting minutes was at Whitelee and it alternated with Breach for many years. By 1708 all Monthly Meetings were held at Breach and the decline in numbers of Friends around Little Chester and Derby probably dated from the very early years of the century. The latter did not become a centre for Friends until about a hundred years later. Henry Hall, who visited the meeting in 1810 confirmed this gap in their history when he wrote 'Until lately Friends had not a meeting settled at this place but several being convinced have joined the Society and a good meeting house is now erected in which we had two meetings, the last very crowded, several hundred not being able to get in'.⁵

At various times reports to the Quarterly Meeting and entries in the Monthly Meeting minute book indicate that the Monthly Meeting was small particularly in the early 1700s and 1730s but when it was visited in 1754 at the specific request of Breach Friends it was considered satisfactory:⁶

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1. Q 59, 10.3.1738.
 2. Journal, p.26.
 3. Swarthmore MSS., 4.67.
 4. Q 59, 14.3.1701.
 5. Friends Library, Vol IV, p.293.
 6. Q 61A, 10.16.1754.

possibly this was in respect of discipline rather than numbers since in 1759 there was some difficulty in procuring a clerk who was free from payment of tithes.¹

The establishment of a Women's Monthly Meeting was agreed in 1700² but no separate record remains of it. The Monthly Meeting entry for 10.7.1718 is headed 'Men and Women's': although there is little evidence to prove it, the meetings were probably held at the same time. One minute on 11.9.1713 lists attenders in a way which suggests that this was so. Women Friends were appointed to enquire into the clearness of women intending to marry at the same time as men were appointed for their similar task. It is hardly likely to have been done on separate occasions.

Weekday and First Day Meetings were apparently less easy to maintain than the Monthly Meetings in this area, contrary to the usual pattern. Constant references were made to this failing of Breach Friends in the Quarterly Meeting minutes. Those in the south of the county, referred to as Derbyshire Friends, requested permission to keep their own meetings during the winter of 1702³, the days being short, but these were as badly maintained as the rest and almost undoubtedly failed altogether in the middle of the century. The centre for the north-west side of this meeting, after the decline of meetings round Ashbourne, was Ripley, where Friends were meeting for worship in the early eighteenth century.⁴

Although the nature of the meetings was not always stated, the Monthly Meeting for worship was commonly held on the first fourth day of the month. Instituted in 1700⁵ these seem to have been kept up, though they may have become the more usual First Day Meeting for worship. Unlike

1. Q 61A, 11.10.1759.

2. Q 59, 13.1.1700/1. It seems possible from the handwriting that this was added retrospectively.

3. Q 59, 9.10.1702.

4. " 14.8.1702, 14.2.1703 etc.

5. " 10.2.1700.

the Monthly Meetings for business, where the location changed according to the position of the Friend whose house was being used as a meeting place, the meetings for worship were still being held at the houses of Friends with the same surname over a period exceeding a quarter of a century. Such meetings were arranged to take place at the house of Adrian Dawes in Eastwood in 1700¹ and were still being kept at the house of John Daws in 1725.² Similarly, the meeting situated in William Day's house, also in Eastwood, in 1700 may well have been the precursor of the meeting licensed at the house of Hannah Day of Newman Leys in 1728,³ although technically the latter was the successor to that held at John Daw's house.

Numbers.

Calculations about the actual numbers of Friends in an area are fraught with difficulties. All the available evidence is incomplete in one way or another and assessment over a period of years is not always helpful. Contemporary observation was rarely numerical, most commentators confining themselves to comparative judgements or generalities. Gratton commented twice on the movement of Friends away from Derbyshire, thus underlining the mobility of men and women in the seventeenth century which adds to the problem of numerical assessment. About 1688 he mentioned 'divers of my countrymen' who had gone into the Dales of Yorkshire;⁴ and in 1695 he was guardedly enthusiastic about the growing number of Friends in the county. '... there was a fine increase; for the number of Friends multiplied; but many of them went into America, there was about forty from our monthly meeting, and some others, which lessened our meeting

1. Q.59
 2. " 12.3.1725.
 3. " 14.12.1727.
 4. Journal, p.113.
 5. " p.122

pretty much'.¹ At about the same time the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, which was actively attempting to encourage adherence to the Established Church, received a report from one of its country correspondents about Friends in Derbyshire. John Tatum of Sutton-on-the-Hill wrote in 1701 '...the Quakers as well as other Dissenters do rather increase ...'.² Both are interesting comments but could hardly be called exact numerical data.

The Anglican church was one authority which made spasmodic attempts to count dissenters in parishes during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but their records are incomplete for Derbyshire. The episcopal returns for 1669 mention about one hundred Friends meeting at the house of Anthony Bunting at Matlock, but give no estimate of attenders at the other two meetings mentioned.³ Visitation records for Derbyshire are sparse, and it is not until 1751 that the returns for even part of the county are extant.⁴ In this the deaneries of Chesterfield and Derby are the only ones whose records remain but as most Friends lived within their boundaries by that date a rough estimate of total numbers can be made. Incumbents were asked how many Dissenters, and of what denomination, they had in their parish; they were not always accurate, and they frequently did not specify whether they were referring to individuals or families. Bearing this in mind however, a total of twenty five families, ten individuals and a few extras for the parishes where the incumbents merely noted 'very few' or 'unknown', could be construed as representing most of the Quaker population on the eastern side of the county in the middle of the century. If a multiplier of 4.2 is used to arrive at a total of members there may have

1. Journal, p.122.

2. SPCK, CR1/01 1A, p.104-5.

3. Lambeth Palace Library, Tenison MSS Vol.639 f.191v. Even the figure for Matlock may be inaccurate since the original of 166 was crossed out and 'about 100' substituted.

4. LJRO, B/V/5.

been about 120 Friends in the two deaneries at that time.¹ This is roughly in line with calculations made on the basis of the number of marriages. (See Table 1.) Twenty one years later Bishop Brownlow's Visitation² records are fuller, though some parishes are still missing. Making similar assumptions to those for the earlier survey, the figures indicate approximately eighty Friends within the scope of the survey, and an additional unknown number in the parishes which were omitted.

Presentation of Friends to the visitation court was not systematically carried out in all the deaneries but is perhaps as adequate as a guide as any other.³ Some Friends may have escaped prosecution and others are not always identifiable in the proceedings since they were as often charged with recusancy as with being a Quaker. Approximately one hundred individuals were prosecuted, in 1665, many of them being husband and wife. Using the same multiplier as before, the number of Friends in the county at that date, as represented by those prosecuted would be just over four hundred. (See Table 1). This might be an overestimate as some were married and both parties were taken to court, but that might also compensate for those who have not been identified. By the same method, the number prosecuted in 1679, a minimum of 130, would represent about 546 Friends. (See Table 1). The fallability of this method is that it is dependent on the prosecuting zeal of the established church; the fact that only 55 Friends were presented in 1685 demonstrates the probability that political events could upset any series of figures produced on this evidence.

Registration - through persecution or other cause - was not confined to the ecclesiastical authorities. The return made to the Quarter

1. This is a multiplier used by C.T. Smith in VCH Leicester, Vol. III and seems to be generally accepted.
 2. LJRO, B/V/5.
 3. " B/V/1/72, 79.

Sessions by the constables in August 1682 of nearly five hundred known recusants was almost certainly incomplete:¹ the Grand Jury complained the following month that the constables were slow in the matter. However the Friends who can be identified amongst them - the majority were not identified as such to the court - is about one hundred, a figure which contains a few doubtful attributions. There is some duplication of names with those who were prosecuted by the ecclesiastical court three years earlier but not completely, and the difference is more than enough to compensate for the difference in the total if the same multiplier is used. The Declaration of Allegiance might provide a further check on the number of Friends in the county before the end of the century but only 33 are recorded as having subscribed to it. That it is undoubtedly unrepresentative of the total number of Friends becomes clear if the location of the subscribers is examined. Returns were only made from six parishes resulting in a very incomplete record.

Persecution brought its problems to Friends but its abatement after the Toleration Act of 1689 caused a reduction in the official notice taken of Friends and thus fewer means of assessing their numerical strength. Without membership lists Friends themselves were unable to do more than record the comparative growth or decline of meetings and these are too generalised to be useful. Other methods have therefore to be adopted which are only, at best, calculations, but which can produce figures stretching over the whole period. The method used by Braithwaite based on the average annual marriage of 15 per 1000 of the population rate has been widely adopted.² It has the major drawback that, being based on the marriage registers, it is as fallible as they, and the registers for Derbyshire are demonstrably incomplete. Intended marriages put forward

1. DCRO, Box XIV, 3.

2. Braithwaite, Vol.II, p.459.

in the Monthly Meetings were frequently not registered on their accomplishment. It can often be checked from the birth registers that such unions did take place, and produced children. It is also most unlikely that a failure to accomplish an intended marriage would not be noted in the minutes by the clerk as such evidence might be needed for the clearance of either party in respect of a future marriage. For the purpose of making a realistic assessment on this basis therefore all the collated evidence for marriages has been used. This includes the unions of Derbyshire Friends who married outside the county, the registration of these marriages usually occurring only in the register of the county concerned. (Sometimes there is other evidence, such as notification of clearance given in the Monthly Meeting from which the Friend emanated, but just as often there is no other indication.) It also includes the marriages of those who married out of the Society, since they were members up to the moment of marriage and in some cases continued to be. This may produce too high an estimate, especially when a marriage has been assumed for a particular date because the birth registers record a succession of births thereafter. But the resulting figures worked out on ten year averages (Table 1) are very similar to those cited above which have been obtained from a variety of sources.

Confidence in their approximate accuracy is increased by the fact that the ascertainable totals at each end of the period are broadly similar. Assessed on the marriage rates the total number of Friends in the county between 1660-9 would seem to be about 226: it is lower than that estimated from the presentments in 1665 (c.400), but must be so as the corpus of Friends at that date would include those convinced after marriage and past child bearing age. At the other end of the period, when contemporary comment makes it clear that numbers had sadly declined, the figure of

160 Friends is close to the 120 who appear to have been living in the Chesterfield and Derby deaneries at the time of Bishop Frederick's Visitation.

TABLE 1 County population of Friends according to a marriage rate of 15 per 1,000 p.a.		
	Average marriage rate	Est. no.
1660-9	3.4	216
1670-9	6.7	446
1680-9	8.0	533
1690-9	8.6	573
1700-9	6.0	400
1710-9	7.4	493
1720-9	5.1	340
1730-9	3.6	240
1740-9	2.3	153
1750-9	2.4	160

The general picture given by this method of calculation is perhaps dangerously close to what might be expected, but that seems little reason to dismiss the results. At the beginning of the period the proportion of Friends in Derbyshire to the rest of the population was broadly similar to that in the rest of the country.¹ The county was underpopulated by comparison with many of its neighbours though numbers grew substantially in the middle of the century. Calculations based on a muster roll of 1635² indicate a county population of around 45,000, which had increased by 1676 the year of the Compton census, to 68,000.³ If the number of Friends in Derbyshire is calculated to be about 446 this would reveal a proportion of 1:150 which is much the same as the figures calculated nationally⁴ and for Leicestershire.⁵ Exact figures will never be possible to ascertain, but

1. Braithwaite, Vol.II, p.493.

2. Add. MSS 6702, f. 116-21v.

3. VCH Vol.II, p.184.

4. Braithwaite, Vol.II, p.493.

5. R.H.Evans, 'The Quakers of Leicestershire', Trans.Leics. Arch. Soc., Vol.XXVIII, (1952), p.71.

the general trend, as revealed in the calculations for ten year periods seem to be plausible in the light of other knowledge.

Marriage age.

One factor which may have contributed to the decline in numbers during the eighteenth century is a rise in the average age at first marriage amongst women. This is an arguable factor since the rise is not very great and may merely reflect the increasing difficulty in finding a suitable marriage partner within the immediate neighbourhood. It does however seem to be a trend which repeated itself throughout Quaker communities and which was counter to the prevailing trend in the rest of the country. Professor Vann has found, using the registers from a number of counties which do not include any from the Midlands, that in the rural areas the average age at first marriage for women rose between 1650 and 1750 from about 25.2 years to 28.25 years.¹ While such figures have to be treated with caution for their absolute value, the trend is quite clear. Much the same is observable for the men, though the rise is not quite as steady. Starting at about 28.85 years in 1650 they dropped to 28.75 years at the turn of the century but rose steadily thereafter and by 1750 were about 30.25 years. Comparative figures worked out for Colyton, Devon, by Dr. E.A. Wrigley² where the Anglican registers are particularly good, show a steep decline in the average age at first marriage for women and a more gradual one for the men.

Ascertainable figures for Derbyshire do not contradict this pattern of a rising age at first marriage for both men and women Friends. If the period is divided into two fifty-year cohorts, between 1660 and 1760, the

1. R.Vann, Unpublished figures quoted at a seminar.
 2. E.A. Wrigley, 'Family Limitation in Pre-Industrial England' Econ.Hist.Rev., 2nd series, Vol XIX, No.1. 1966, p.86.

figures show a similar, if less spectacular, rise ~~to that~~ found by Professor Vann. (Table 2). The sample is small and may therefore exaggerate some of the figures: the disadvantage of using incomplete registers may well be greater than is realized and the comparative ascertainable figures for Nottinghamshire suggest that this is so. Nevertheless it seems unlikely that they are so inaccurate as to hide a rising trend in the average age at first marriage.

TABLE 2. Comparative mean ages at first marriage from ascertainable evidence.				
Pre-1710				
Derbyshire	Men	31.04 years	(sample of 21)	
	Women	27.04 "	(" " 24)	
Nottinghamshire	Men	25.75 "	(" " 4)	
	Women	27.00 "	(" " 20)	
Post-1710				
Derbyshire	Men	31.89 "	(" " 9)	
	Women	29.81 "	(" " 16)	
Nottinghamshire	Men	27.75 "	(" " 12)	
	Women	26.95 "	(" " 24)	

A static, or more likely rising, age at marriage reduces the potential number of children born to a couple. The average size of a family, including those children who died within one month of birth, is very hard to estimate, given the inadequacies of the birth and death registers. Derbyshire Friends did sometimes register the death of an infant and give its age but since only five under the age of one month are mentioned in a total of 549 deaths the results do not inspire confidence in Friends system of registration. One still-born child was registered and a number who are only accorded a surname may have been still-born but the incidence

of early child mortality must have been higher than the registers suggest. Thus in face of a lack of evidence about the size of families in the two periods it is impossible to assess the impact of a rising age among women at first marriage, but it seems likely that it contributed to the reduction of numbers during the first half of the eighteenth century.

Migration.

Migration of the general population was not uncommon in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Parochial responsibility for Anglicans who wished to move was well established by the mid-seventeenth century and Monthly Meetings assumed similar responsibilities for Friends. Members of the established church were distinguishable by their parish of settlement but as the Monthly Meeting usually covered a much wider geographical area the location of Friends is often complicated by the variety of place-names with which they were associated. The vast majority of Friends can be placed in a particular parish through one source or another, and failing that to a Monthly Meeting but inter-parochial movement was not noted by the Society, unless such movement involved a change in Monthly Meeting. Even then it was frequently not recorded. Consequently Friends can be described as belonging to a Monthly Meeting or to a number of parishes with little or no indication about their progression from one to another. The insistence on settlement which eventually followed the Anglican pattern was not officially prescribed by Yearly Meeting until 1737. Such confusion was not made any better by the frequent inability of the contemporary ecclesiastical or civil authorities to identify the exact dwelling of those who were presented in court. Consequently official records are not always accurate. The overall impression about mobility in Derbyshire is, however, that most Friends were well settled and remained so, though their children

may well have moved out of the parental parish. Those who moved once often moved again: they were in many cases the less fortunate members of the Society, whether through bad luck or bad management, and perhaps because they were potential liabilities were more likely to have certificates issued to them which were, in their turn, more likely to be recorded in the Monthly Meeting minutes.

Documentation of this by the Monthly Meetings is patchy and demonstrably lacking in many cases. The Monyash Monthly Meeting minutes include only three references to the issue of certificates, and the first is hardly even that. Edmund Shackerly informed Elihu Johnson in 1693/4 that he intended to go to London but no mention was made of a certificate.¹

Cornelius and Phoebe Bowman were given certificates to visit other Friends in 1700² and Samuel Bunting announced his intention of emigrating at a Monthly Meeting in 1720 though there is no further indication as to whether he was granted a certificate.³ Yet those who were successful in emigrating to America arrived with certificates from the Monthly Meeting.⁴ Similarly John Gratton travelled extensively from this meeting and eventually moved to Farnsfield to be with his daughter Phoebe Batemen,⁵ but none of this could be gleaned from a scrutiny of the minutes. The other Monthly Meetings are similarly deficient in information, with the exception of Chesterfield.

From 1701/2 the clerks of Chesterfield Monthly Meeting appear to have made a considerable effort to record most of the certificates granted for travel, for settlement and for emigration. Almost half the total were for Friends to settle within the compass of other Monthly Meetings.

1. Q 86, 1.1.1693/4.

2. " 2.3.1700.

3. " 9.1.1720.

4. G. Cope, Genealogy of the Smedley family, (private), 1901.

5. Journal, p XI.

Most of them went to surrounding counties, Yorkshire (12), Nottinghamshire (4), Leicestershire (2), Cheshire (1), Staffordshire (1), few going further afield and only two being noted as going to London. The list is clearly not full - at least thirteen Friends are known from other sources to have moved to London - and cannot be taken as an exact guide to the number of Friends who moved out of Derbyshire from Chesterfield Monthly Meeting. However, their general inclination to stay in areas not too far away (London excepted) seems clear, and the strong links with Yorkshire were noted by Gratton when he found many of his countrymen living in the Dales in 1689.¹

However inaccurate the figures are about Friends resettling themselves within the boundaries of other Monthly Meetings, the number of certificates received for Friends moving into the county is much smaller, totalling only eleven. Some of these can hardly be counted as new settlers within the area since they were for Derbyshire Friends who, having moved away, returned again some time later. Richard Bowman and John Williamson both moved on again after returning, thus accounting for six of the total number of certificates granted and received but only representing two men. Four Friends moved south, coming from Yorkshire, two from Leicestershire and one from Nottinghamshire thus leaving only three who came from further away.

If therefore the proportion of settlement certificates granted and received can be assumed to be roughly equivalent although the total number of certificates must be higher than that recorded, it would appear that a far greater proportion of Friends left the county than came to settle. If, as seems likely, the degree of inaccuracy is

1. Journal, p.113.

higher for the certificates granted than those received then the trend is even more noticeable. This is not unexpected, but it is in contrast to the figures for Norfolk where newcomers appear to have outnumbered those who left during the first part of the eighteenth century.¹

One other source for the assessment of mobility exists, being the frequency with which Derbyshire Friends married other Friends from different counties. On the basis of all the available evidence (basically the registers, supplemented by minutes of the Monthly and Quarterly Meetings), but in the knowledge that some marriages will still not be included and for quite a proportion the location of either or both spouses may not be known, over one third of the total number of marriages involved a Friend who lived outside the county (155:199). The proportion is more revealing if the figures are divided into pre- and post-1710 dates. Before 1710 the numbers of Friends in the county appear to have been sufficient for most marriage partners to be found within the area: only 35% of the total marriages where the location of both spouses is known were between a Derbyshire Friend and a Friend from elsewhere. For the second half of the period (1710-60) the proportion is much higher, 55% marrying non-Derbyshire spouses. This in itself must have constituted a serious drain on membership since most of the women would move to their husband's place of settlement. In the first period, up to 1710, women who married outside the county roughly equalled the number of men, (from the available figures), but the numbers were greater during the second period (41:33). One of the consequences of women marrying out of the area was the loss to the county of the children who were the potential Quaker spouses of the next generation.

1. Muriel F. Lloyd Prichard, 'Norfolk Friends Care of their Poor 1700-1850,' JFHS, 40, (1948), p.13.

Evidence about migration to London by Derbyshire Friends and their children is forthcoming from the Digests of London and Westminster Marriages and the Two Weeks Meeting minutes.¹ The latter consistently recorded the location of parents of Friends who announced their intentions of marriage, thus affording some clue to their county of birth. Although not all Derbyshire Friends who moved south can be traced by this means, some interesting facts do emerge about where they came from and where they chose to live. The parents were frequently Friends who lived in outlying districts of Derbyshire which can have had little contact with other Quakers in the county; it seems possible therefore that there was less chance of apprenticeship or marriage within a Quaker family close at hand for their children. Once in London however, a sense of community amongst those coming from the Midlands seems to have been established. Almost all the Derbyshire Friends, whose place of habitation is known, congregated within the compasses of either Grace Church Street Meeting, the Bull and Mouth Meeting or Horsleydown Meeting. Even within these areas they may well have kept up old links since several of them married spouses from the Midlands area who had also moved south. There is no direct evidence that the call of a particular occupation influenced Friends who were considering moving away from their country of origin, though it is tempting to think that Anthony Neatby of ^hTomas' parish, Southwark, described severally as a tailor or 'Spanish leather dresser, was in touch with Thomas Bentley, also described as a tailor and of the neighbouring parish of Olave. Both had come from Barlborough and the apprenticeship of the latter was referred to by Martha Rodes in her letters to her son Sir John.² The

1. LSF.

2. Locker Lampson, p.24, 29.

letters are strewn with references to Friends in Derbyshire, in the surrounding counties and further south. Anthony Allen, whose journeys to London she mentioned,¹ had imbued his daughters Abigail, Ann and Dinah with a taste for life in the capital. All three were married there between 1723 and 1737. William Wrag² can probably be identified with the sadler from Derby who was living in Aldersgate Street, London at the time of his marriage in 1685. Others whom she mentioned who are not identifiable from such sources, for instance Joshua Kirby³, were almost certainly amongst those who migrated away from Derbyshire and settled in London.

Emigration.

As in other areas of the country some Derbyshire Friends found that conditions at home made the prospect of a new start overseas attractive. They did not go in large numbers, and neither their departure from England nor their arrival in New England was well documented. It is possible however to piece together the names and details of about fifty individuals who, on the assumption that some at least took their families with them at the time or subsequently, constituted quite a proportion of the membership of the Society in Derbyshire. (See Appendix 1.)

From the existing information it appears that most of the emigration took place in the 1680s, as might be expected. Most of the settlers of Darby Township came from Derbyshire and Leicestershire according to Gilbert Cope, who also considered them 'to have been of a high order of respectability and intelligence'.⁴ The records of Darby Meeting, which

1. Locker Lampson, p.29.

2. " p.34.

3. " p.25, 29, 40.

4. G.Cope, Genealogy of the Smedley family, (private), 1901, p.8.

first met officially in 1684, include certificates of unity with a number of Derbyshire Friends who came from either Breach or Monyash Monthly Meetings. No record of their departure exists on this side of the Atlantic but in the majority of cases they fled the increasing persecution of the first years of the 1680s and their certificates were dated 1682. At least fourteen went over that year, at a conservative estimate, and ten of the eleven signatories to George Smedley's certificate of clearness for marriage in 1684 came originally from Derbyshire,¹ though they were by that time acting as members of Darby Monthly Meeting. The numbers of emigrating Friends who can be traced reduced after that, though there was a steady trickle during the later 1680s and up to the early years of the eighteenth century.

The first settlers were frequently followed by other members of their families who had been left behind in England, and these were not always wives and children. Adam and John Rodes, brothers, from Breach Monthly Meeting came to Pennsylvania in 1684, to be followed by their father, also John, and two further brothers Joseph and Jacob, at a later date.² Over forty years after one Samuel Bunting had settled in Chesterfield, New Jersey,³ another Samuel, possibly his grandson, announced to Monyash Monthly Meeting his intention of emigrating.⁴ William Bunting took a certificate with him from Breach Monthly Meeting the following year.⁵

In 1695 John Gratton mentioned the departure of forty or more Friends from Monyash Monthly Meeting in his Journal⁶ which in his estimation 'lessened our meeting pretty much'. It is unclear from his statement whether this number included those from other meetings and up to what

1. G.Cope, Genealogy of the Smedley family, plate preceeding p.1, LSF copy.
2. " p.111.

3. John Smith's MSS 1:380.

4. Q 86 9.1.1720.

5. Q 59 10.3.1721.

6. Journal, p.122.

date he was taking his estimate. It probably includes those who left ten or more years before though only about twenty eight can be definitely accounted for individually. It is equally uncertain if he added in the families of the original settlers: if he did not, the total, using the multiplier of 4.5, could equal nearly two hundred Friends, which would have left a very large gap in such a small community.

As the eighteenth century progressed a greater emphasis on certificates of settlement meant that Monthly Meetings were more likely to note the departure of those who wished to emigrate. As the numbers in the county decreased, so did the number of those wishing to settle permanently on the other side of the Atlantic. The pressures in England were less and one Friend, Richard Bowman, returned to his home country six years after having emigrated.¹

Whether the early settlers of Darby township were worthy of the praise bestowed on them by Gilbert Cope² cannot be gauged, but one or two of them had interesting histories subsequently. John Blunston, originally from Breach Monthly Meeting in 1682, became a magistrate and a minister. The Hanks family, two members of which, Luke and John, moved from Breach Monthly Meeting, may have been the family from whom Abraham Lincoln was descended on his mother's side. Nancy Hanks appears to have been the grand-daughter of Joseph Hanks who lived in Nelson county.³ Some members of the family remained in England whilst others spread widely over the colonies. John Bartram, who came from Ashbourne Monthly Meeting in 1683 to Darby township, was the grandfather of John Bartram of Philadelphia, a Quaker botanist who sent seed to Peter Collinson, Mark Catesby, John Fothergill and others.⁴

1. Q 62C 19.6.1755.

2. See above.

3. Louis A. Warren, Lincoln's Parentage and Childhood, (New York, 1926).

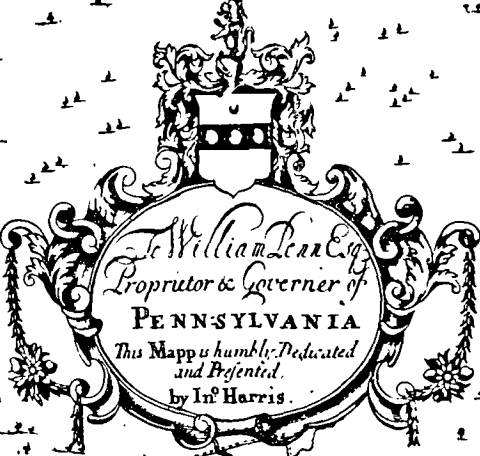
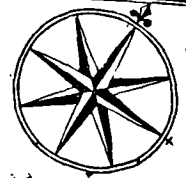
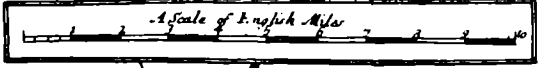
4. I am grateful to Edmund Berkeley of Charlottesville, Virginia for this information.

MAP OF IMPROVED PART OF PENNSYLVANIA IN AMERICA, DIVIDED INTO COUNTIES, TOWNSHIPS AND LOTTS

Surveyed by Tho. Holmes sold by P. Lea at Atlas and Globes in Cheside

- Notes to the Settlements of
several Inhabitants in 1st County of
NEW CASTLE
- | | |
|-------------------|-------------------|
| 1. John Adams | 11. John Smith |
| 2. John Brown | 12. John Taylor |
| 3. John Clark | 13. John White |
| 4. John Davis | 14. John Wilson |
| 5. John Evans | 15. John Young |
| 6. John Fisher | 16. John Zane |
| 7. John Gale | 17. John Allen |
| 8. John Hall | 18. John Baker |
| 9. John Hunt | 19. John Carter |
| 10. John Jones | 20. John Cook |
| 21. John Lee | 31. John Miller |
| 22. John Martin | 32. John Moore |
| 23. John Nelson | 33. John Parker |
| 24. John Phillips | 34. John Reed |
| 25. John Roberts | 35. John Scott |
| 26. John Russell | 36. John Stiles |
| 27. John Tamm | 37. John Sullivan |
| 28. John Turner | 38. John Tate |
| 29. John Vance | 39. John Thomas |
| 30. John Ward | 40. John Todd |

- References to the Settlements of
several Inhabitants in 2nd County of
BUCKS and PHILADELPHIA
- | | |
|-------------------|-------------------|
| 1. John Parson | 11. John Stille |
| 2. John Brinkley | 12. John Brinkley |
| 3. John Hark | 13. John Jones |
| 4. John Biles | 14. John Rankin |
| 5. John Bore | 15. John Taylor |
| 6. John Lucas | 16. John Peterson |
| 7. John Wheeler | 17. John Smith |
| 8. John Haycock | 18. John Cook |
| 9. John Wheeler | 19. John Bore |
| 10. John Hark | 20. John Jones |
| 11. John Rankin | 21. John Taylor |
| 12. John Peterson | 22. John Smith |
| 13. John Cook | 23. John Bore |
| 14. John Jones | 24. John Taylor |
| 15. John Smith | 25. John Rankin |
| 16. John Taylor | 26. John Peterson |
| 17. John Rankin | 27. John Cook |
| 18. John Peterson | 28. John Bore |
| 19. John Cook | 29. John Jones |
| 20. John Bore | 30. John Smith |



The information available about the emigrants is almost exclusively concerned with those who went from Monyash or Breach Monthly Meetings. Group enthusiasm may account for this but the absence of information about emigrants from the Slackhall or Chesterfield Monthly Meetings suggests that there are gaps in the records. Occasionally letters reveal the otherwise unrecorded presence of Derbyshire Friends in the colonies: Margaret Fox received a letter from John and Margaret Linam together with Edward Searson from Maryland in 1683.¹ No other source, except the epistle from the following Maryland half-yearly meeting,² reveals the presence of the latter in South River; no other source gives such an early date for the emigration of John and Margaret Linam who were both ministers. Others who disappear from the English records sometimes figure in lists of those who purchased shares^e of acres,³ or on the maps of allotments.⁴ (See Map 3) The list cited by Hannah Benner Roach of Friends from Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire who purchased such shares not only names one or two Friends whose emigration would otherwise not be suspected, but also gives an idea of the comparative wealth of those who went out. The list was taken by her from John Reed's Map of the City and Liberties of Pennsylvania and the amount of money spent has been added here on the basis of the price of £100 per 5000 acres offered by Penn to the original purchasers. The options were taken up so quickly that a second list was opened on which the following figured:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Acres</u>	<u>Price</u>
John Blunston from Little Hallam	1,500	£30
Luke Hank [from Eastwood]	500	10
Michael Blunston [from Little Hallam]	500	10
Thomas Whitby from Sawley, cloth worker	500	10
Edmund Cartlidge from Riddings	250	5

1. JFHS, 1908, p.95.

2. Epistle from Half Year Meeting, Maryland 18.4.1683. Printed in JFHS, 1908, p.97.

3. Hannah Benner Roach, 'The First Purchasers of Pennsylvania'.

4. PRO CO 700/1.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Acres</u>	<u>Price</u>
Joseph Potter [from Eastwood]	250	£5
George Wood [from Bonsall]	1,000	20
Thomas Worth from Oxton, Notts.	250	5
John Oldham	250	5
Samuel Bradshaw from Oxton, Notts.	500	10

Once they were settled in New England, the emigrants remained there, though it is clear from the recorded marriages that they often married within the group with which they had come. Few returned to their birthplace, and even fewer, like John Bowne, wrote a travel diary.¹ Unfortunately, for the purposes of Derbyshire history, he was almost exclusively interested in the rigours of the sea voyage. There must have been some whose departure from England went unremarked and whose arrival and subsequent life in the colonies was so detached from their former companions that all trace of them was lost. The fact that the presence of one or two Derbyshire Friends in New England is only known by chance reference would seem to indicate this.

1. John Bowne, Journal 1650-1694, Ed.H.F. Ricard, (New Orleans, 1975). He was born in Matlock in 1627, emigrated to Boston in 1649, and had been convinced before 1662. He was an important Friend in Flushing, NY, and was in contact with Friends both in Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire.

CHAPTER II

PROPERTY

The property of the four Monthly Meetings in Derbyshire was widely scattered and comprised not only land and buildings but also furniture and, in some cases, a hearse. The amount of detail available about each is very variable due to the chance survival of deeds and Monthly Meeting minutes and accounts. Thus, although it is clear from the deeds that Breach Monthly Meeting had some property and a meeting house from at least 1674, and probably earlier, no details exist of the apparently substantial rebuilding (or possible complete replacement of the existing building) in 1693 referred to briefly in the Quarterly Meeting minutes: the Monthly Meeting minutes are not preserved before 1700. Even when the deeds and Monthly Meeting minutes are extant they do not provide all the necessary details and consequently the descent of the meeting house property at Monyash is not wholly clear, though it can be inferred.

Comparisons between meetings are not, as a result, possible. The basis is too insecure for anything more than a description of the probable meeting house, buildings, lands, furnishings and belongings of each Monthly Meeting to be built up, though certain comparable details do emerge from such a reconstruction.

Nor do the still-existing meeting houses offer much help in many cases: that at Tupton is probably a nineteenth-century building on the site of the earlier meeting house with some of the earlier building materials reused.¹ The garden is the site of the burial ground and has a few

1. Christopher Stell, RCHM considers that it is unlikely that much of the original building is left.

dated stones but with little decipherable detail. The eighteenth-century meeting house in Saltergate, Chesterfield, was recently pulled down and the one at Toadhole Furnace, built by Matthew Hopkinson in 1743, was under threat of demolition some years ago. At Breach the property, which seems to have been referred to interchangeably as Codnor or Breach, was called Breach Farm in the early part of this century when it was visited by Edward Watkins. There was still some evidence of the meeting house inside at that time.¹ In Monyash the original meeting house was rebuilt in 1771 and again became part of a group of farm buildings. In the north-west of the county the meeting house at New Mills, often called Slackhall, dates from 1717 but was extensively rebuilt in the nineteenth century.²

Lack of actual buildings and full accounts makes an assessment of the property of Derbyshire Friends difficult, but the scale of operations is quite clear. The Society was not accustomed to ostentatious meeting houses with luxurious fittings in any part of the country but in Derbyshire the members had to be content with the simplest arrangements and minimal expenditure on such property as they had.

Chesterfield Monthly Meeting.

The provision of a meeting house at Chesterfield became increasingly necessary as the town became the focus of Friends' activities in Derbyshire and the residence of some of the most influential Quakers in the county. The question of building one was raised at the Quarterly Meeting in both 1695 and 1696 and by October of the latter year the

1. JFHS, Vol.VII, p.62.

2. I am indebted to Christopher Stell for this information who has kindly allowed me access to his files on Quaker meeting houses.

Monthly Meeting had appointed Richard Clayton, Joshua Arnold and Anthony Haslem to 'inspect into the question of a new meeting house that things may be ready next spring.'¹ It would seem that a site adjoining the property owned by Joseph Frith in Saltergate in Chesterfield was chosen, though he was not prepared to donate it outright as the price mentioned for the purchase of 'the old house and most of the croft that the meeting house stands in' was £30.² Four months later the meeting was in trouble over the cost of building as well as proposed purchase and had to agree to be assisted by Joseph Storrs. William Storrs, his father, was 'out of purs' to the extent of £36 on account of the building operations and, finding that Friends were going to have to pay another £30 for Joseph Frith's property, Joseph Storrs provided an incentive for a speedy collection of the outstanding sum. If Friends could collect £70 by the spring Quarterly Meeting (an amended date) he and his sisters would contribute £10 more.³ Although fairly generous (and the deed transferring the property to Joseph and others was executed) this was not sufficient. By April the following year William Storrs was offering to buy, for £25, that part of the property which Joseph Frith was unwilling to part with, if Friends could raise the necessary £5 for the part of the croft which lay to the meeting house. He proposed to settle the land so purchased upon poor Friends and the arrangement was again contingent on a rapid raising of money for the building works in hand. This was presumably done, though the Monthly Meeting minutes do not record any more repayments to William Storrs than the £18.0s.9d. made that July specifically for building costs.

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1. Q 62B, 20.8.1696.
 2. " 17.6.1697.
 3. " 20.10.1697.

Although Friends had intended to use the dwelling house purchased from Joseph Frith as a stable they do not appear to have done so, as the accounts itemize a rent of 10s. p.a. paid to John Booker from 1700-1718 for a stable.¹ They resisted an attempt to increase it in 1713. After 1718 they appear to have used a stable which belonged to them (and which was probably one adjoining the cottage) as accounts for repairs are mentioned. The roof needed 12s. 6d. spending on it in 1729 but this must have been in the nature of a patching up as a totally new thatch was required in 1733. It was adjacent to the house in some way as in 1734 several Friends were requested to turn the door to make it as convenient as possible until some better provision could be made. A month later Friends agreed to have the stable 'laide to the House.' Was it unsatisfactory, or did it fall down? The following year Caleb Loe rented a stable for Friends at 10s. 6d. and in 1742 a legacy from Joseph Frith was spent on the erection of a stable at a total cost of £13.0s.7d. Since Chesterfield Friends were constantly required to accommodate the horses of travelling Friends as well as those of their own members a stable was essential.

Instead of being turned into a stable the cottage on the property - usually described as the house by the yard - was let, frequently to the caretaker for the meeting house. Samuel Smith lived there between 1711 and 1717, paying £1 a year and doing the sweeping. Alice Hogg drove a harder bargain as the following tenant, paying 15s. a year and doing the sweeping. She had the privilege of the grass in the burial ground. The construction of a necessary house was agreed and the following year an arrangement was reached with Joseph Frith concerning the share of his well

1. Q 62B throughout for accounts.

with the tenant. The necessary house was built in 1719, situated at the back of the meeting house in order not to annoy Joseph Frith, at a cost of £1.0s.7½d. A series of tenants were more or less satisfactory until Hannah Hartley, who had held the property since 1741, admitted fraud in 1749/1750 and had to be threatened with expulsion.¹ She left under pressure and Caleb Loe and his wife were installed in her stead. The only subsequent improvement to the property was the provision of a coal house in 1754 at a cost of 4s.²

Being in constant use, the meeting house required fairly frequent repair, the windows in particular needed attention to the frames or reglazing every 5 to 6 years. There were continuous problems with the doors, gates and locks which Friends renewed or repaired. The cost of white washing the meeting house was 15s. 6d. in 1746³ and three years later 'culler' for the door cost 1s. 8d.⁴

The furniture of the meeting house included tables, which were mended in 1699⁵, seats which were made in 1732,⁶ a ladder, sconces (purchased in 1729),⁷ basses and an iron grate. As well as a cupboard for books which was bought in 1707,⁸ Friends provided a further box in 1715 with three locks. This was particularly for the safekeeping of deeds, cost 5s. 6d. and was only to be opened in the presence of three Friends, initially Samuel Ashton, Josiah Clayton and Stephen Arnold.⁹

Care was taken to make the meeting house reasonably comfortable inside by excluding draughts and lighting fires. One of the duties required of the caretaker was that she should make fires up and in 1735 Thomas Lee was paid for 'seeling to keep air from the seats in the meeting house'.¹⁰

1. Q 62C, 19.2.1750.

2. " 18.4.1754.

3. " 17.5.1746.

4. " 19.8.1749.

5. " B, 19.1.1699/1700.

6. Q 62B, 15.4.1732.

7. " 15.11.1729/30.

8. " 18.9.1707.

9. " 20.8.1715.

10. " C, 19.12.1735/6.

His solution seemed to be a new door and boards for the backs of the seats at a cost of 10s. 7d. By 1757 however this was not enough and Isaac Metcalf and William Storrs were asked by the Monthly Meeting 'to get some mattin to line above the seats in the chamber of this meeting house each side of the Fireplace and that side on the right hand from the Fire to the end and the seats altered.'¹ There is constant reference to the provision of coal, but it seldom costs more than 1s. and frequently only 6d.

One of the expenses borne by Chesterfield Monthly Meeting was the upkeep of the well and boundary wall bet^ween the meeting house property and Joseph Frith. This was not always done very amicably, and the impression gained from the minutes is that Joseph Frith was a rather fussy neighbour. The well and well bucket were a recurrent cost from 1718 onwards when agreement was reached over sharing the well with the tenant of the house belonging to Friends. Repairs were particularly heavy towards the end of the period. The wall was a larger item of expenditure if all the references are to the same boundary wall. In 1699 a collection was raised since the cost of erecting the wall had been estimated at £7. The recorded collection was a mere £1.12s. 7½d. which may account for the fact that the following year it was decided that it was two feet too low and Exuperius Brown was paid £1.5s. 4d. to raise it. Some references are to the 'yard' wall² and others to the 'fence' wall³ which makes the accounts hard to disentangle but in 1730 a decision was taken to provide a new stone boundary and meeting paid 16s. 6d. for its half share, Joseph Frith maintaining stoutly that it had cost 40s. or more.⁴

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1. Q 62C, 20.1.1757.
 2. " 8, 15.5.1725.
 3. " 17.10.1725.
 4. " 18.12.1730.

An assessment of the running costs of the meeting house is difficult to make because many items in the accounts have to be taken as provisional. They were not always specifically set against the Chesterfield Meeting account though it is clear in many cases that that was intended. The cost of sweeping must be discounted as it was taken in with the rent of the house by the yard; so must extraordinary expenses of repair which were usually allowed as a rebate on the rent to the tenant. The annual expenditure on the property was about 10s. though there were some particularly heavy repairs in the late 1720s both to the stable and the meeting house.¹

The yard at Chesterfield meeting house is specifically mentioned in the deeds,² but not the burial ground. That a burial ground existed however is not in doubt since burials in Chesterfield were recorded from 1702 and several tenants had 'the privilege' of the grass. The fact that earlier burials were not noted may well reflect the inaccuracy of the registers. It seems likely that this early burial ground was in fact the 'yard'. If John Bradley was the first tenant of the house in the yard - he paid rent for some property unspecified between 1702 and 1706, possibly to 1710 - the arrangement involved the cutting of the grass in some way.³ This may be a reference to the burial ground or the yard. Alice Hogg had the 'privilege of the grass in the yard' written into her agreement in 1718⁴, William Huit who succeeded her had the privilege of the burial ground and was to keep it repaired.⁵ On his departure the receipt of money for rent of the burial ground becomes fairly regular and from 1722, when George Bower became the tenant instead of Huit, Joseph Frith was paying 1s. a quarter for the ground.⁶ This was

1. cf similar scale of running costs of meeting houses at Kirbymoorside and Hutton-le-Hole, Yorks. in the eighteenth century. R.W.Crosland, *JFHS*, Vol. 49, p.105.

2. Q 134-5.

3. Q 62B, 17.4.1703.

4. " 22.3.1718.

5. Q 62B, 21.3.1719.

6. " 20.9.1723.

reduced to 2s. 6d. a year in 1730 but it was stipulated that he must cut the grass. Payment was intermittent and tended to be for several years at a time but was still being made in 1760.

One of the problems connected with burial was the transport of corpses over long distances in a county where communications were poor and the state of the roads often impassable. Philip Kynder, writing about Derbyshire around the year 1663, stated 'here is noe highwaies or post-waies and so more proper to secure a foraigne enemie'.¹ Although he was not considering the ordinary carriage of bodies he makes the problem of communication clear and it appears to have been accepted that the carriage of merchandise was only undertaken between May and November in this inhospitable region.² Thus the carriage of the dead may well have proved difficult. In 1694 Ann Holmes left a saddle to Chesterfield Meeting as a legacy which was specifically for carrying the dead to burial.³ This was to be put in good order and 'have all things bought for it convenient'.⁴ By 1699 such a mode of travel was considered insufficient and a hearse was constructed at a cost of £3.0s.6d. A hearse house was built in Chesterfield three years later. Such an asset was not to be ignored and by 1709 Friends had decided to turn it to profitable use. "It is alsoe ordered by this meeting that if any of the worlds people come to borrow the hears belonging to Friends, who does give their consent to lend it soe that they be carefull of it that it comes to no damage and this meeting does order Joseph Frith to supply that sarvis and to see that it be noe ways demnified and if it bee to put them in mind to give something to the mending of it.'⁵ Three years later those who borrowed the hearse were requested to pay 'discretionally' according to mileage to assist towards

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1. Philip Kynder, Historie of Darbyshire, Bodleian Library, Ashmole MSS 788.
 2. Sir G.R. Sitwell, 'A Picture of the Iron Trade', DAJ, Vol.X, p.42.
 3. Q 62B, 16.8.1694.
 4. " "
 5. " 17.3.1709.

repairs. No details of receipts were recorded but minor repairs to the hearse indicate that it was in fairly constant use. These were usually quite small apart from a substantial bill of £1.7s.6d in 1727.

Chesterfield meeting house was not the only property owned by Friends in the district. The earliest mention of land belonging to the Society in Tupton is in a later schedule of deeds but it does not specify where the property was nor what it comprised.¹ A release was executed in 1659 of lands from John Fletcher and his son to William Kirk, John Frith, Thomas Brocksopp and John Allen. A note in the original register of births, marriages and burials² states that the burial ground was purchased at that date from John Fletcher sr., but it is unclear if the two transactions are for the same property, or if there was any building attached. Friends may have used an existing building as a meeting house for the first years of their existence since both Quarterly and Monthly Meetings were held there from at least as early as 1673 (when the records begin). They had purchased a further property from John Fletcher in 1672 but details of this are also missing.³ No building accounts are extant for the next few years but the Quarterly Meeting record of Sufferings refers to a specially erected building at Tupton in 1677,⁴ which seems to be the same one which was in use throughout the period as an alternative to Chesterfield meeting house for the Quarterly Meeting.

The provision of stabling for meeting houses in remote rural areas was crucial when Friends often had to travel long distances to meetings. It seems therefore surprising that the Tupton meeting house was not supplied with one at the time of its erection. Rent was paid for a

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1. Q 300.
 2. PRO RG6.1446.
 3. Q 300.
 4. Q62A, 29.7.1677.
 5. Q62B, 18.6.1698.

stable until at least 1735, although there was a suggestion that Friends should build their own in 1698.¹ This was not taken up and Solomon Sheldon who had been renting stabling to them since 1691 continued to do so until at least 1716 at 10s. per annum. He was succeeded by Lemuel Gladwin until 1723 when Friends decided to find other accommodation, though there is no further reference to it except the payment of rent.

Accounts for sweeping, repairs and coal purchase at Tupton exist from 1691 when the Chesterfield Monthly Meeting book begins. However it seems likely that a suggestion in the Quarterly Meeting minute book for 1690 (26.4.1690) refers to Tupton meeting house as the meeting was held there. 'It is agreed of by Friends at this meeting that there be a convenient place railed forth through the Meeting House for the conveniency of Friends in the Ministry.' This work was subsequently carried out by William Kirk and Richard Clayton at a cost of 18s.² Shutters and casements were added to the original building in 1696.³ Repairs of a minor sort were carried out fairly regularly, which argues that the meeting house was in use by a reasonable number of Friends during the eighteenth century and was not one of those which remained in use because it had an historic place as the location of the Quarterly Meeting. On twenty six separate occasions before the amalgamation with Nottinghamshire the minutes of the Monthly or Quarterly Meeting mention the need for maintenance at Tupton, varying from the repair of the wall, the renewal of the locks, 'oyl' for the door, mending the yard door 'scrues' and the fairly frequent removal of moss from the roof. It was rare for such repairs to cost more than 5s. a year.

1. Q 62B, 18.6.1698.

2. Q 61A, 1.11.1690/1.

3. Q 62B, 7.1.1695/6, 18.6.1696.

Until 1696 sweeping, and presumably general caretaking, was undertaken by George and Ann Ashley at a wage of between 2s and 3s a year. Thereafter Margaret Turner was employed at a cost of 1s. 6d. a quarter, and she was followed by 1711 until 1730 by George Wright who was, however, only paid 1s. a quarter. Margaret Turner was a poor Friend who needed support subsequently, and it is possible that she was somewhat overpaid as a subsidy. After 1730 the minutes only make intermittent references to sweeping, possibly because no one was living in the meeting house.

There is very little indication about the furnishing or arrangement, bar the provision of a railed-off area for Ministers already referred to. Other members of the meeting were probably seated on forms, which were mentioned in 1711.¹ Nothing further was purchased, bar four basses in 1750/1 which cost 8½d. each at Chesterfield.²

The burial ground was used from at least 1662 when George Ashley's son was buried there, and continued in frequent use throughout the eighteenth century. At some point a wall was erected round it since in 1735 the Monthly Meeting directed an old man to receive 1s. 'for taking care of the Grave Yard walls at Tupton to prevent the rubble from abusing them.'³

Friends in the area around Dronfield made constant requests to the Monthly Meeting in Chesterfield that they should be permitted to hold meetings in their neighbourhood, particularly in the winter when transport was difficult. Through the charity of Cornelius Heathcote they eventually acquired a meeting house, though very few details are known about it. Collections were made in 1719-20 for the purpose and according to the account in the Quarterly Meeting held 29.10.1720 the subscriptions

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1. Q 62B, 20.9.1711. 'There is 21 loose formes belonging to Tupton Meeting House'.
 2. Q 62C, 21.1.1750/1.
 3. " 19.12.1735/6.

totalled over £41. No further action was taken immediately but land was acquired from a bankrupt estate in Dronfield by Cornelius Heathcote in 1725/6¹ and the Quarterly Meeting reported the construction of a new meeting house at Dronfield to the Yearly Meeting in 1727.² Two months later the Monthly Meeting recorded the decision that meetings previously kept at Stephen Arnold's house in Whittington and John Ward's house at Dronfield were in future to be held at Dronfield meeting house. The collections made in the early 1720s probably financed the building operations and the property itself was made over to trustees by Cornelius Heathcote in 1728.³ It seems to have been used chiefly for weekly meetings at first, though permission was regularly given for other meetings from 1736.

It is clear that the property comprised some land and that burials were made there. The first of these was recorded in 1756 but may well not have been the first. The garden was rented to Benjamin Ward from 1749 at a rather variable rent, and the burial ground was let at 2s. per annum from 1755 largely for the advantage of the grass. Other income from the property included the sale of wood which fetched 12s. in 1750.

On the basis of the figures given the cost of repairs heavily outweighed the income from the adjoining land, though the accuracy of any of the accounts is doubtful. In 1732 14s. 11d. was paid out for repairs and £2 for sundry bills on account of the meeting house and yard in 1759. Earlier, in 1754, money bequeathed by Mary Creed was applied to the repair of the meeting house.

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1. Q 300. This may, or may not be, the site referred to at the Quarterly Meeting held on 26.1.1723/4 when it was reported that a site had been purchased.
 2. Q 251/5.
 3. Q 300.

The last meeting house to be added to those which were used by Chesterfield Friends during this period was that at Toadhole Furnace, the land for which was purchased by Matthew Hopkinson of Shirland Park from Richard Kirkham in 1741.¹ The building was complete and was handed over to Matthew Burgess of Grooby Lodge, Leicestershire (Matthew Hopkinson's son in law), John Rodgers of Alfreton, Richard Rodgers of Alfreton, Jonathan Fletcher of Wessington, Joseph Fletcher of Wessington and William Draycote jr. of Southill in 1744 as trustees.² The stone over the doorway was carved with the inscription 'Matthew Hopkinson 1743'. In answer to the Yearly Meeting Queries, the Quarterly Meeting replied in 1745 that a meeting house had been erected, but that no meeting had been settled.³ It was built in an unusual form, having an external staircase which led to the loft, a feature only shared by Preston Patrick meeting house, according to Lidbetter.⁴ It was described by Reverend C. Kerry as 'quite at one with the adjoining cottages and contiguous buildings';⁵ he also regarded it as a very cheerless within. When Matthew Hopkinson was issuing instructions for his burial he requested 'that I may be taken to the toadhole furnes, and be laid by the stairs that goes upon to the outter wall, as nere as can be and not lett them down'.⁶ His burial was the first recorded at the burial ground,⁷ but thereafter it was used by a number of families.

The most valuable property in the possession of the Chesterfield Monthly Meeting in terms of income was the farm at Overend, Ashover. This was bought largely due to the generosity of Gilbert Heathcote who gave £62. 2s. 6d. in 1702⁸ towards the farm which had been purchased the

1. Q 211.

2. Q 178, 180.

3. YMM, Vol. IX. 1745.

4. Lidbetter, p.16.

5. DAJ, XIX, (1897).

6. LSF, MSS Q 3/9. 7. Digest of Burial Registers, Notts and Derbys, LSF.

8. Q 62B. Accounts in back of book.

previous year by Joseph Storrs on behalf of the Meeting.¹ A lease of 1,000 years was negotiated with Alice Booth and the property was conveyed to trustees on July 20th 1702² on the understanding that the income was to be used for putting out apprentice the children of poor or deceased Friends. Friends contributed a further £21. 10s. towards the total cost, which was £80, together with 22s. 6d for 'writings' and £2 for repairs which were allowed to the tenants.³

The first tenant was George Wagstaff whose rent was always overdue; the accounts were kept in a rather haphazard fashion by Samuel Ashton, the clerk of Chesterfield Monthly Meeting, and the erratic payment of the rent in small amounts makes it difficult to calculate what the annual rate was. Matters deteriorated as the years went by and in 1710 Ashton detailed the cost of going over to Ashover 'about the rent gathering in when we seised on the Goods for rent charges'.⁴ The following year the lease was taken by Henry Bower for twenty one years at £4 annually which included the land tax but not the window tax. His death two years later coincided with the transfer of the duty of acting as clerk to the meeting. Stephen Arnold took over from Samuel Ashton, from whom Friends had some difficulty in extracting the accounts of the Ashover charity. Not only was he reluctant to bring the accounts to the meeting but the money, which he continued to collect until his death in 1728, was not always forthcoming when Friends wanted it. Not that he was the only Friend who made difficulties over the 'apprentice money' as it was often called. Richard Clayton, who was inclined to cause trouble in the Society, had been required to hand over the deeds of the Ashover charity in 1713 in order that new trustees could be

1. Q 300.

2. Q 159.

3. Q 62B, Accounts.

4. " "

appointed. Although he appeared to concur he must have been harbouring a sense of injustice over the matter; a minute from the Monthly Meeting of 18.6.1715 stated 'Being we are credibly Informed that Ri. Clayton and his son hath sent the settlement of the Apprentice money to Geo. Whitehead and supposed that he has communicated it to the meeting for Sufferings to vindicate their unjust proceedings with that money therefore it is agreed by this meeting that Joseph Storrs and Joseph Loe do draw the state of the Case which this meeting is uneasy with Relating to the money abovesaid and bring it to the next Monthly Meeting that it may be sent to the meeting for Sufferings.' The Friends appointed drew up a letter but it was deferred, the reason no doubt being that at the next meeting Josiah Clayton brought £4 of the apprentice money and the matter was not referred to again. Because of this sort of trouble a decision was taken in 1728 to appoint auditors and supervisors of the charity at the same time that the trustees were renewed.¹ Samuel Ashton's son, also Samuel, took over the accounts of the charity on his father's death.

The administration of the property was not very onerous, and was probably slightly neglected since inspection involved a special journey. When Samuel Ashton and James Loe did go in 1738 they reported at the following monthly meeting (15.4.1738) that house and fences were very much out of repair. The tenant was given notice but eventually permitted to stay on promise of good behaviour. Such a reformation of character lasted barely a year, and when the tenant^{was} reported to have ploughed up more land than he had agreed and failed to repair the house, he was given notice to quit.² A much more suitable replacement was

1. Q 160.

2. Q 62C, 21.4.1739.

found in Joseph Whitfield, a Friend from Northumberland who moved to Derbyshire in 1734 to become Manager of the London Lead Company which was expanding. He took the property at £4 per annum on a twenty one year lease and agreed to limit his ploughing to one acre a year. He was allowed almost all the first year's rent against repairs.¹ By the time William Storrs took over the Apprentice Lands accounts in 1744 (on the death of Samuel Ashton) the capital had accumulated to £12.10s. despite fairly constant use for its intended purpose. Friends agreed to make it up to £20 which sum was lent to William Storrs at 4% in order to provide additional income.

At the very end of the period there is evidence that the property was larger than might have been surmised. A minute in the Monthly Meeting book for 16.4.1752 indicates that Friends owned not only the farm at Overend but also the adjoining one called Brockhurst. This was to be taken over by Joseph Whitfield who was permitted to pull down the much decayed buildings and build a house, barn and cowhouse, towards which he was to be allowed '£25 ... if he lie it out, he promising us £1 per annum advance rent and to hold it for 21 years'.

By 1758, when William Storrs brought the account of the Apprentice money, the total stock had risen to £27. 17s. 1½d. which was again let out to him at 4%. He was not entirely reliable about keeping the accounts and when Derbyshire Friends were visited by London Friends in 1761 with a view to rationalizing the Quarterly Meetings he paid an extra pound, in addition to the interest for the past four years, 'to clear Apprentice account which some Friends are uneasy about'.² This was in line with a general tightening up of accounts and is the last

1. Q 620, 18.8.1739.

2. " 19.11.1761.

reference to the Apprentice money during the period.

A mile or so to the north of the farm at Overend, Friends owned a burial ground at a place called Peasonhurst, though it was referred to in various ways including Pennystonhurst. The first burial recorded here was in 1699 when Francis Bentley of Toadhole was interred, though the name of the place was cited as Buntingfield. This is the name for the area immediately south of Peasonhurst on the modern map. Edward Watkins, in his notes on Derbyshire Friends, stated 'that a large area was called Buntingfield and that Pennystonhurst, Watkins House and Buntingfield Farm were all farms on the estate.'¹ The burial ground was separated from the rest of the estate in 1727 when Job Booth, previously a Derbyshire Friend, but by then a wheelwright in Nottingham, conveyed an estate called Pennystonehurst or Buntingfield to George Sowter of Matlock (17.11.1727/8). This excluded the area for burials and all subsequent deeds are for that property only.² In 1739 Chesterfield Monthly Meeting was given the burial ground in trust by Job Booth, although the site had originally been within the compass of Monyash Monthly Meeting. It was to be continued in use as a burial ground or for a meeting house.³ No more burials were recorded there in subsequent years but that may be due to the poor record of burials at this period. The scarcity of Friends in the area cannot have encouraged the erection of a new meeting house. Only small sums were expended on the upkeep of the ground, Joseph Whitfield making himself responsible both in 1744 and 1751.⁴

Property owned by Chesterfield Friends in trust at Killamarsh was conveyed to Joseph Storrs, Joseph Gratton, Josiah Clayton, Godfrey Beard,

1. Q 343/1-4.

2. " Edward Watkins gives no source for this information.

3. Q 157, 158.

4. Q 62C, 20.7.1744 and 19.7.1751.

Peter Burbeck, and Samuel Ashton by William Young of Dronfield in 1700.¹ Known as Whinney Close, the property was let to the first tenant, William Beard for £2. 10s. per annum inclusive of taxes², but few accounts are extant. In 1712 it was agreed that George Ward of Killamarsh should be granted a lease for twenty one years at £2 per annum.³ The rent was paid fairly regularly by him and his widow but in 1732 Friends agreed that the future rent should be £4 with all charges and assessments.⁴ No further accounts were entered until 1742 but it seems that they had been unsuccessful in raising the rent since it was agreed in 1742 that the tenant, William Ward - possibly the son of George - would have to pay £3. 10s. per annum. He was prepared to pay the increased rent but not prepared to make peace with Parson Griffiths, his neighbour, over a right of way.⁵ Joseph Frith, butcher, Joseph Frith, dyer, and Philip Maiden were instructed to sell the land if they could get £130 or more for it. Eventually they signed a lease the following year with the Reverend John Griffiths for a term of forty-two years at a rent of £4. 10s. less taxes.⁶ Such an arrangement must have made for more harmonious relations with the Established Church.

At no point in the Monthly Meeting minutes is there any indication of the extent of the land in question; nor is there any mention of any buildings. Occasional profits from wood were recorded, though these were minimal considering that the wood had to be assessed. Philip Maiden was paid 2s. for undertaking this task in 1715⁷ but the money received from the sale of wood two years later was only 12s. 6d.

1. Q 300.

2. Q 62B, 17.10.1702.

3. Q 144. The lease was not executed until 1714 but the Monthly Meeting agreed on it in 1712.

4. Q 62C, 15.4.1732.

5. " 18.9.1742.

6. Q 145.

7. Q 62B, 21.5.1715.

Upkeep was normally undertaken by the tenant, fencing being mentioned on only two occasions, one of which was in 1740 in the middle of the arguments William Ward was having with Parson Griffiths.¹ Other expenses incurred were mainly taxation, the practice of payment, whether by landlord or tenant being variable. Between 1704 and 1761 the increase was minimal, being 8s. 8½d at the beginning of the century and only 9s. 2d. at the end of the period; there were, however, fluctuations during the intervening years. Arrears of chief rent were paid in 1755 at the rate of 3d. per annum.

In addition to their other properties Chesterfield Friends seem to have had some interest in Wessington Meeting House, though none of the records make it clear what the position of the Monthly Meeting was in respect of it. Friends met at Wessington during the 1740s and on two occasions a collection from there was recorded in the Monthly Meeting.² The Fletcher family, of whom Elizabeth, wife of Joseph, was probably the most prominent, being a travelling minister, may have provided the property which comprised at least two buildings, one used as a meeting house, but the only reference to it comes in a decision taken at Chesterfield Monthly Meeting on 19.7.1751. Following a request from Friends for advice about the tenant in the house belonging to the meeting house who was troublesome and would not leave, 'not withstanding legal notice has been given her, she is at our complaint bound over to the Quarter Sessions'. Several Friends, including Jonathan Fletcher, were directed to attend and do their best to recover the arrears of rent. There is no record of its registration as a meeting house, nor of any rents received either before or after the prosecution.

1. Q 62C, 18.7.1740.

2. " 19.7.1745 and 19.4.1746.

Monyash Monthly Meeting.

The property which came to be used as a meeting house in Monyash was originally a holding consisting of a cottage, garden, barn and shop. In 1668 the owner, R. Milner sold the cottage and garden to J. Milner¹ and in 1693/4 the barn and shop to R. Robinson.² John Gratton bought the former property from Thomas Milner (a Friend but disowned in 1691) in 1690, having obtained a licence for a meeting house the previous year.³ Gratton, together with Henry Bowman and John Buxton took over the barn and shop in 1698⁴ and the two halves of the property were reunited on 25.4.1711 when Gratton conveyed both parts to Edward Booth, Henry Bowman jr. of Smyrril Grange and Henry Bowman of One Ash.⁵ A new meeting house for Monyash was first mentioned in the Monthly Meeting minutes in 1698/9 but it was not made clear if it was a new building or an adapted dwelling house. Most probably it was the latter which was the house previously used, together with the newly acquired barn and shop. The shop connected with the property was rented at 5s. per annum to Thomas Milner until 1700.⁶

The history of the property becomes less clear after the turn of the century but unexplained references to a butcher's shop between 1704 and 1707 may be to the shop which went with the holding. The rent of 5s. per annum which was paid rather irregularly was identical to that proposed to Robert Greaves in 1707 who was also proposing to live in the meeting house for 1s. per annum, undertaking the responsibility of repairs and sweeping himself. It is unclear if this suggestion ever materialised. By 1711 Friends were threatening Michael Charlesworth

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1. Q 146.
 2. Q 151.
 3. Q 251/14.
 4. Q 150.
 5. Q 153.
 6. Q 86, 7.10.1699.

(a Friend who had been disowned previously) and George Goodwin with eviction from the shop unless they performed their bargain. Their shortcomings were not specified but they would appear to have been making unauthorised use of the stable as the entry in the Monthly Meeting minutes stated 'wee to keep the stable door key'.¹ Rent of 5s. per annum was thereafter paid intermittently until 1718. The next tenant for the meeting house mentioned by name was Rebecca Boham, who had been paid for sweeping the meeting house in earlier years, but who, by 1729, was becoming an increasing burden on Friends' resources.² In 1731 she moved to Worksworth and the following year a rent of 6s per annum was being paid by an unnamed tenant. The rise in rent was slow over the next thirty years, but had become 10s per annum for the meeting house in 1761, whereas the shop remained at 6d.³

According to the plan of the meeting house after it had been rebuilt in 1771 it was part of a group of farm buildings, but it is not clear if it was attached to the farm in the earlier period.⁴ Accounts for building work and repair were very sketchy, possibly reflecting a lack of attention to minor repairs. Most of the early work was paid for initially by John Gratton, (who was repaid by the meeting) but it cannot have amounted to much more than glazing the window in 1701 and supplying a manger for the stable. 'A little house' was built by Thomas Milner in 1717 for which he was paid 11s. but the only major repair work came four years later. The expenditure was not itemized in the accounts but it would appear that some of the old timber was renewed and one of the retaining walls rebuilt. Lead was used in this but it was not specified for what. The roofing was constructed from thatch and clods which was renewed in 1701, 1717 and 1725.⁵ The total cost was £7.1s.2½d. in 1721 and the arrears were still being paid off

1. Q 86, 6.10.1711

2. " 17.2.1729

3. Q 62C.

4. Lidbetter, p.67.

5. All accounts are in Q 86.

the following year. Since repairs are not mentioned after 1732 it seems likely that they became the responsibility of the tenant.

An adjoining area was used as a burial ground from 1676 and throughout the eighteenth century. It needed little upkeep, though Cornelius Bowman did pay for a door in 1710.

The maintenance of the meeting house was minimal both inside and out and unlike some others there was no systematic attempt at caretaking. Rebecca Boham was paid between 1719 and 1722 but thereafter the tenant probably did what was necessary. Heating was provided since a grate was purchased in 1721 and three loads of fuel were itemized amongst the accounts, though there is no sign of a hearth on the plan.¹ Seating was on forms which cost 3s. in 1724 and at some period a stand was installed at the far end of the building which adjoined the stable. It is unclear from the plan whether this, the lobby and the loft were part of the original construction or added when it was rebuilt.

Although Monyash was probably the larger centre for Quakers of this Monthly Meeting, at any rate during the first half of the period and during John Gratton's lifetime, Matlock also had a meeting house. It was originally in the hands of the Bunting family, having been bought by Anthony Bunting in 1667 from William Johnes.² Since the former was already elderly (67) he may have anticipated leaving the property to Friends, but by 1693 had decided to provide for himself and his wife in their extreme old age. The Monthly Meeting (5.3.1693) recorded the following agreement which seemed a reasonable insurance against want.

1. Lidbetter, p.67.

2. Q. 300.

'Old Anthony Bunting is willing for John Gratton to have all his house in which he now Dwells giveing him £10 as he needs it upon Friends' account and if Anthony Bunting and his wife live till the £10 abovesaid be spent friends do engage to help them and Anthony and his wife are to live in the above house'. They both died in 1700 and the property was then inhabited by William Bunting, their son, who paid rent. Elihu Hall was paid to draw up a deed of covenant concerning the use of the house for Friends on 6.1.1700/01,¹ but the deed, if it was ever executed, has disappeared. In 1705 the question of preserving the title arose, possibly because William Bunting was behind with the rent, albeit it was only nominal at 4d. or 6d. per annum in 1707.

After his death, (1719), his son Samuel Bunting received the deeds and negotiated through Elihu Johnson to sell the property, which he did in 1721. A new registration was taken out in 1726² at a period when the numbers of Friends attending Monyash meeting house was dwindling and an increasing proportion of the meetings, both for business and worship, were held in Matlock. James Lowe, Daniel Clark, Henry Bowman and William Storrs were appointed trustees in 1729 and two years later the Monthly Meeting bought the property from James Lowe³ for £16.16s.5d.

In 1741 Henry Williamson and his family were permitted to live in the meeting house as they were such a burden on the meeting but by 1753 the commercial value was considered worth exploiting. Joseph Whitfield, clerk of the London Lead Company, was asked at the Monthly Meeting to let the meeting house 'to a good tenant that will not deprive us of a

1. Q 86.

2. Cox, Vol I, p.368.

3. Q 86, 14.1.1731.

meeting as we see occasion'.¹ Although the rent received was variable, the annual amount probably should have been fl. The 1772 episcopal visitation² noted that there were no Quakers in Matlock at that date but an old ruined meeting house remained and that a meeting was held once a year.

Some provision for burial must have existed on the property or near it since Joseph Frith, Samuel Ashton and James Lowe were requested to get stone stoops and new gates for it at the charge of the meeting in 1740.³ It may have been part of the garden which was itself rewalled in 1745 at a cost of fl.8s.6d.⁴

Little upkeep was expended on this property which was more of a dwelling house than a place for worship. The roof was repaired by Daniel Clark in 1725 and just over £5 was spent in the late 1730s on unspecified repairs.⁵ No furniture or heating arrangements were mentioned in the Monthly Meeting minutes.

Friends had, or used, some type of property in Ashford which was referred to sporadically as a meeting house, though it is unlikely to have been more than an ordinary dwelling house. A meeting was held from at least 1660, possibly initially at Anthony Bunting's house. By 1684 Friends were paying rent to Edward Jackson⁶ but Samuel Johnson registered the property in 1689⁷ and his son, Elihu, reregistered it, or another property, in 1694, the year after Samuel died.⁸ Rent was still being paid 'at Ashford meeting house'⁹ in that same year though it was unspecified for what and may have been for the stable, rent for

1. Q 62C, 20.12.1753.

2. LJRO, B/V/3.

3. Q 62G, 19.4.1740.

4. " 16.3.1745.

5. " 21.2.1737 and 21.4.1739.

6. Q 86, 1.2.1684.

7. Cox, Vol. I, p.367.

8. Q 86, 6.10.1694.

9. " 27.7.1694.

which was paid regularly between 1687 and 1691. Elihu Johnson moved to within the compass of Breach Monthly Meeting about 1697-8 and thereafter meetings at Ashford appear to cease.

Monyash Monthly Meeting owned at least two other properties beside the various meeting houses. Both appear to have been connected with John Gratton at some point, though the connection was less clear in the case of George Chrichlow's house. Both caused more trouble than they were worth, though this was due to laxity by Friends as much as to unsatisfactory tenants.

The location of the property referred to as John Frost's house in Monyash is unclear but John Gratton handed over the deeds of the house and barn at the Monthly Meeting held at Monyash on 5.1.1702. The memorandum recording this, written in his own hand, stated that it was given with a bond of performance to Henry and Cornelius Bowman who were made assigns to reserve the interest money for the relief of the poor. This should have been 5s. per annum but it was always in arrears. In 1706 an enquiry was made into the £5 lent on mortgage to John Frost, since no interest or rent had been paid for the past three years.¹ The accounts are peppered with demands made to John Frost and empty promises given in return while Friends went on hoping that the situation would improve. When his widow took over the property in 1717 there was no change and her tenure came to an end in 1720 when she was removed by William Barker, the parish overseer 'into a house of their own [the parish], amongst other pensioners'.² Negotiations for selling the house were entered into after consultation had taken place with William Thompson of

1. Q 86, 5.7.1706.

2. " 13.8.1720.

Nottingham. The advice of a chapman was sought and by 1723 the property had been bought by Thomas Handley of Monyash.¹ Jo. Bird of Elton had been instructed to draw up a conveyance to George Porter in 1721 for the house, garden and barn but this sale must have fallen through.²

George Chrichlow's property was managed in very much the same way as that which John Frost rented. He took out a mortgage of £15 in 1699 to purchase the house in which he lived,³ the use of which was designated by Friends for the use of the poor. His repayments were noticeably intermittent. By 1707 he was resident in Nottingham and the property passed to Benjamin Taylor.⁴ Friends displayed their not uncommon laxity over the legality of this and it was not until 1711 that enquiries were made as to whether he had the deeds which should have been sent to him by John Gratton on purchase.⁵ Taylor himself may have been trying to move at this moment, but by 1713 widow Newton was paying rent for it⁶ and from 1715 it was let to George Bowden for 8s. per annum.⁷ Friends paid any necessary duties, and allowances were occasionally given for repairs both to him and to widow Newton. In 1721 the Monthly Meeting decided to allow George Bowden to buy the property for £7, by instalments, the whole being paid off by 1723.⁸

The driving force, if such it can be called, behind these minor ventures into property must have been Gratton who was responsible for so much of the activity of the Monyash Meeting. Once he had moved to Farnsfield to live with his daughter, the impetus had gone and no Friend in that area was competent to replace him. Consequently the management of property became increasingly onerous to a meeting which was dwindling in membership from about the same date.

1. Q 86, 11.2.1723.
 2. " 10.6.1721.
 3. " 28.4.1699.
 4. " - .11.1707.

5. Q 86, 17.2.1711.
 6. " 7.4.1713.
 7. " 1715
 8. " 13.4.1723.

Breach Monthly Meeting.

The records for Breach Monthly Meeting are unusually full (when they begin) and give a substantial body of detail about the running of the meeting house and its repair. However the minutes do not start until 1700 so that the earlier history of the property of this meeting has to be pieced together from other sources.

In 1649 Alice Riley assigned a lease of 1,000 years to her eldest son, John, of land and buildings in Codnor, one house to come to him after her death.¹ John Riley appears to have moved to Derby and assigned the remainder of the lease to John Lynam and Edward Searson, both of Whitelee, in 1674.² These were both Friends as was William Wooley of Codnor to whom the lease was reassigned in 1677.³ The following year he executed a deed poll devising the residue of the lease to William Day of ~~Eastwood~~ Eastwood, Luke Hanks of the same, John Blumson of Ilkeston and Richard Searson of Heanor⁴ who two months later became trustees for the property for the use of Friends.⁵ It appeared to consist of one dwelling house in Codnor with a garden, together with one end of another dwelling house in Codnor which was to be used as a meeting house and burial ground for Quakers. Monthly Meetings were held in Breach from at least 1679 at 'Breach House'.⁶ In 1689 'one house, upon Codnor Common, purchased by a Common Charge' was licensed as a meeting house.⁷ Thereafter the house remained in the possession of Friends though one other, rather curious, episode connected with it occurred in 1704 when a woman called Margaret Ryle of Derby Common applied to live there.

1. Q 195.

2. Q 199.

3. Q 197.

4. Q 198.

5. Q 196.

6. Q 61A, 25.1.1679.

7. DCRO, Sessions Order book 1682-1702. Michaelmas 1690.

From the entry in the Monthly Meeting book it sounds as if she was not a Friend, '... she being of another parish wee think it wisdom to informe the overseers of this parish if they will except of a certificate if she procure one'.¹ No explanation was offered for this entry, nor for the subsequent one in 1715 when she again asked for a room in the meeting house but John Wilcockson was requested to see if a room could be procured for her in Nottingham.² It seems possible that she was the widow, or daughter, of John Riley who was described as living in Derby in 1674, and felt she had a claim on the property.

Maintenance of the meeting house was carefully minuted and the annual expenditure on it, including the payment of the caretaker varied between 10s. and £1.10s. throughout the period up to 1761. Wages for caretaking were not high, but the man employed would undoubtedly have had other means of livelihood. In 1700 the quarterly payment to him was 3s. but this had dropped to 2s. 6d. by 1707 which was the level at which it was maintained. John Peake was caretaker when the records begin in 1700 and presumably his son, who was mentioned in association with him in that year, carried on from him, as a John Peake was still being paid in 1761. Between 1753 and 1757 George Fletcher was paid a quarterly wage for caretaking but thereafter the job reverted to John Peake.

The cost of repair and unkeep was fairly continuous. Expenses for the meeting house and stable included the care of the roof which involved watering the thatch and constant repair. In 1730 tiling, tiles, lathes and mortar cost 11s. 6d. which indicates that the meeting house was at least partially tiled.³ Twenty 'Rigg' tiles were purchased in 1749

1. Q 59, 14.4.1704.

2. Q " 11.3.1715.

3 " 11.8.1730.

but payment for thatching still continued, possibly for the stable.¹

A fairly substantial rebuilding or series of alterations to the fabric was undertaken in 1693 when the Quarterly Meeting noted that the meeting house for Whitelee Monthly Meeting was not yet finished, lacking £14.9s.0d.² The Meeting had requested assistance. In 1718 after repair of the fabric had been considered, the total stock of the meeting was given to John Peake to buy bricks.³ 5,000 cost £1.15s.6d and Enoch Oats was paid for laying a total of 8,000 at the rate of 2s.6d per 1000.⁴ Normal repairs were on a smaller scale: mending the door posts and lining the wall with garst cost 6d. a time, 'glazeing and tending on him' [the builder] 3s.6d.⁵

The cost of the upkeep of the croft at Breach was more substantial than at the other meeting houses, involving constant payment for mowing and making hay, ditching and pleaching. The cost per year remained between 2s. and 4s. all through the period with some income from the hay to offset the expense. John Peake paid between 2s. and 3s. for the hay, though he did not buy it every year. This approximated to the wage he was paid for the work he did mowing, making and getting in the hay, though it was not exact. A small cash adjustment was presumably made when the hay crop had been assessed. Hedging and ditching were done as necessary, often by John Peake, but other labour was also used. Income from the wood was very small, though it appears that Thomas Briggs was sold two ash trees in 1723 for £1.⁶ 'Moeing nettles' cost 2d. in 1732⁷ and cutting hillocks 10d. in 1752⁸ but upkeep for which payment was made was otherwise restricted to the tasks mentioned above and muck or lime

1. Q 59, 13.10.1749.
2. Q 61A, 5.8.1693.
3. " 9.5.1718.
4. " 13.9.1718.

5. Q 61A, 10.6.1748.
6. " 10.2.1723.
7. " 11.8.1732.
8. " 18.4.1752.

spreading. After 1758 the croft was rented to Richard Clayton,¹ and payment for upkeep therefore comes to an end.

It is not clear which part of the property was used as a burial ground: but the first burial recorded was in 1676² and burials continued throughout the eighteenth century, though the later references are probably to a subsequent burial ground.

Provision within the meeting house must have been modest. There is little reference to any but the barest necessities for cleanliness and warmth. A wiskit - presumably to keep coal in - a besom for sweeping, forms for sitting on and two basses which were purchased in 1733.³ In 1736 'seats' as opposed to forms were installed, though the word was fairly indiscriminately used. These required a substantial outlay, Thomas Biggs and Enoch Oates making a special journey to Nottingham for the purpose of purchasing the wood. Thomas Biggs supervised the whole operation which cost well over £4.⁴ They were subsequently repaired and were referred to as seats, indicating perhaps that they had backs. Matting was bought in 1761 at a cost of 9s.10d.⁵

Keeping warm during the winter meetings was a luxury which not every little meeting house could afford. Breach Meeting however did provide coals intermittently, though the cost of carriage was almost as high as that of the coals and additional payment had to be made for getting the coal in. The average cost for the entire operation was about 4s. (the actual weight of coal was never stated), or slightly more, and was not an item of annual expenditure. John Peake was paid a penny in 1702/3 for mending the coal pick⁶ and small sums in 1713 and 1714 for

1. Q 61A, 14.6.1758.

2. Digest of Burial Registers, Notts & Derbys. LSF.

3. Q 59, 12.7.1733.

4. " 12.11.1736.

5. " 11.11.1761.

6. " 13.11.1702/3.

mending the frogs. A new pair was purchased in 1731 at a cost of 2s.9d., together with a pair of tongs at 1s.¹ In 1760 a pair of bellows cost 1s.2d.,² indicating that the meeting house was still in active use.

The outside appurtenances of the property belonging to Breach Monthly Meeting included the hearse house. This was presumably a stable, converted or repaired to take the hearse which Friends agreed to purchase in 1700. The Monthly Meeting minutes for /8.6.1700³/ recorded the agreement that there should be a 'lite Hearse with two wheels and /thills/ and a place for one to Ride to drive the same'. Thomas Biggs either made it or supervised it at a cost of £4.10s.11d. The harness cost another 2s.9d. and the repair of the hearse house a further £1.17s.10d. Such an investment was not solely for the use of Friends and it was established in 1711 that John Peake, who was in charge of the hearse, should charge for its hire. The rates set down were 1s. for the first mile and 6d. thereafter.⁴ Demand was very variable which perhaps indicates that Friends did not advertise its availability over a wide area. Income could fluctuate between nil in 1749⁵ and 16s.3d. in 1757.⁶ On the other hand outlay on repair was small, the only major cost being when Joseph Burgan was paid £1.3s.6d in 1752 for an unspecified repair.⁷

Miscellaneous property owned by the Monthly Meeting, apart from books, comprised the furniture left by Jonathan Tantom in 1729. 'A bedstid and a Cofer to be used for the use of the Meeting House to stand as Ear looms':⁸ these were loaned out on occasion to needy Friends.

1. Q 59, 12.11.1731.

2. " 9.1.1760.

3. There seems some confusion over this date but it seems likely that the Meeting occurred about then.

4. Q 59, 12.7.1711.

5. "

6. "

7. " 11.10.1752.

8. " 11.1.1729.

Apart from the main meeting house, Breach Monthly Meeting used other property in which to gather, as well as meeting in private dwellings. Thomas Whitby licensed a meeting house at Sawley, situated on the very border of the county, in 1697/8¹ and it may have been this dwelling in which it was suggested that Luke Hank should live in 1700.² It is possible that this was also the house (referred to as Thomas Whitelee's) which was to be let to John Kilner and his son Joshua for 14s. per annum, or 20s. with the kitchen, in 1706/7³ which was shortly after Luke Hank had fallen from grace by getting into debt. No further mention was made of it which may indicate that thereafter it reverted to private use.

Melbourne meeting house was left to Friends of Breach Monthly Meeting by William Cook also of Melbourne. By the terms of his will in 1704⁴ he left the top of the croft known as Wilders Croft in Melbourn with an adjoining cottage and house for Friends to use as a meeting house with burial ground. He made provision that Friends should have £20 from his estate to do the necessary repairs and alterations if he should not survive to undertake them himself. It is unclear whether there was some difficulty about taking over all this property but the Monthly Meeting of 8.8.1707 directed Samuel Johnson to bargain with John Fulwood and 'lay down money for a little house at Melborn left Friends with the meeting house by William Cooke sr. deceased father in law to the said John Fulwood'. The account was brought in a month later, amounting to £3. In 1724 it appears that Leicestershire Friends tried to take over the meeting house⁵, there being very few Friends belonging to Breach Monthly Meeting who lived as far south in the county as Melbourne by that

1. DCRO, Sessions Order Book, 1682-1702. 11 Jan, W.9.

2. Q 59, 10.2.1700.

3. " 12.1.1706/7.

4. LJRO. Will of William Cook, 1704.

5. Q 59, 8.2.1724.

time. Breach Monthly Meeting did not record its decision in reply to the request made by the Congerstone, Castle Donington and Swannington Monthly Meeting that they should 'liverup their title',¹ but at a meeting on 14.4.1738 they made a statement of resignation of rights in the title of Melbourne meeting house and the house belonging to it. This was signed by six Derbyshire Friends though it appears that the meeting house was already being used by Donington and Swannington Meetings at the time. (Details about the repairs to the fabric occur amongst the Leicestershire records as early as 1724.²) The equivalent statement in Swannington Monthly Meeting book records the agreement reached at a joint Monthly Meeting at Breach whereby Breach Friends agreed to the resignation of their rights over Melbourne, 'upon condition that it be kept for A Meeting house for the people called Quakers and for no other purpose or intent'.³ The actual transfer of property does not appear to have taken place until 1860.

The first burial at Melbourne was that of William Cook himself in 1704 and the continued use of the burial ground is testified to by its mention throughout the eighteenth century.

One further property which Breach Monthly Meeting owned came to them from Jonathan Tantum. In his will, dated 6.12.1732 he devised to his executors 'All that my moiety or undivided half part of all that Messuage or Tenement with the out buildings Gardeins Orchards and Close called Webster Croft thereto belonging scituate and being in Loscoe aforesaid and now in the possession of the said George Hodgkinson' on condition that the executors 'shall for ever yearly forth of the rents and profits

1. Q 59, 8.2.1724.

2. LCRO, 12D/39/28, fol.136v.

3. " " fol.142V.

of my aforesaid Moity after Repairs Taxes and my Executors and their Representatives reasonable Charges deducted pay Two full Third parts of the Rent and profits arising therefrom unto the poor of Codner and Loscoe ... and one Third part thereof to the Trustees belonging to the Breach Meeting in Codnor aforesaid Commonly called Quakers to dispose therewith as they shall think fit'.¹ He could be fairly sure that the provisions of the will would be carried out as the executors were both staunch Quakers, Francis Tantom of Heanor and his brother-in-law, John Millward of Hilltop. This must have been the charity referred to in the fourteenth Report of the Charity Commissioners (1867) as the Loscoe charity which was then bringing in £3.13s. 4d. per annum.

Slackhall Monthly Meeting.

The records of the Slackhall or Low Leighton Monthly Meeting are so patchy that there is little information about the property belonging to the meeting. The registration of five meeting houses in Glossop parish was noted in Slackhall Monthly Meeting minutes in 1689² but all bar one were domestic dwellings belonging to convinced Friends and did not count as the property of the meeting. They were situated at Little Heathfield, Weathercoats, Perlsitch, Tortop and Low Laughton, the one at Perlsitch being the exception as its primary use seems to have been as a meeting house.

The record at *Low Laughton* however can be augmented by the Cheshire Quarterly Meeting minutes and by the continued existence, albeit changed in the nineteenth century, of the meeting house built in 1717. Friends were

1. LJRO, Will of Jonathan Tantom, 1733.
2. CCRO, EFC 3/1, f.37.

meeting in this area as early as 1663 at Captain Lingard's house according to Fox¹ and it was probably for this house that John Lingard took out a licence in 1690.² However the inspiration for this meeting appears to have come from Cheshire and it was probably at the instigation of Morley Monthly Meeting that a request was sent to Derbyshire Quarterly Meeting in 1716/1717 for contributions to a building fund. Benjamin Bangs, of Morely Meeting, wrote an account of £46 already collected by Cheshire Friends,³ which was money advanced on a charity of which he was a trustee.⁴ Morley Monthly Meeting minutes noted the beginning of building at New Millne (New Mills; the meeting house seems to have been referred to interchangeably as of ~~Low LAughton~~ or New Mills) on 5.4.1717 and it was finished eleven months later.⁵ The total cost was £78. 13s. 3d. as detailed by Benjamin Bangs and Ralph Brock to Cheshire Quarterly Meeting later that year, to which Derbyshire Quarterly Meeting sent the rather paltry contribution of £14.14s.⁷ This apparent lack of enthusiasm may well reflect the predominance of Cheshire Friends over this area long before the official amalgamation in 1738.

Perhaps it is not surprising that there are no references to repairs or upkeep amongst the Derbyshire records before the meeting joined with Cheshire Quarterly Meeting in 1738. Similarly, no Derbyshire Friends were recorded as being buried in the burial ground after 1710 in the Derbyshire registers but burials were recorded in the Cheshire registers all through the period.

Another meeting house was in use at Perlsitch, as noted above, in the parish of Glossop. Between 1687 and 1697 Friends met here and from

1. Journal, p.452.
 2. DCRO, Sessions Order Book, Michaelmas 1690.
 3. Q 61A, 27.10.1716.

4. CCRO, EFC 1/1/2, 10.2.1717.
 5. CCRO, EFC 2/1/2, 7.3.1718.
 6. " EFC 1/1/2, 9.10.1718.
 7. Q 61A, 27.4.1717.

1690 may well have been using a cottage bequeathed for life to Nicholas Bradbury by his brother Edmund.¹ A licence was taken out for a meeting house in 1690 by Nicholas. It seems likely that the cause of a renewed search for a suitable place to worship in 1698² was his death the previous year. Under the terms of Edmund's will the property reverted thereafter to his eldest son Robert. Friends would have preferred to use their old quarters, for two months later the Monthly Meeting requested Reginald Bradbury to speak to his kinsman (unnamed) about the meeting house at Perlsitch. They hoped to rent it for a term of seven years but were prepared to buy the property as an alternative solution. Neither arrangement seems to have been agreed and meetings were held elsewhere until 1702 when a benefactor named Mary Bennet of The Haugh took the meeting house at a rent of 16s. per annum. Monthly Meetings and three First Day Meetings were to be held there, according to the minutes.³ It must be assumed that it was still in use in 1714 when the terms of an agreement reached between Mary Bennet and her relation Daniel Bradbury sr., of Bankhead, were set down in the Monthly Meeting book. During her life-time she was to receive the interest on £4 lent to him and at her death the principal was to go to the caretaker of Perlsitch meeting house for building or buying a meeting house there 'or to what sarvise shall by thenr be seen to be most sarvisable one the truths account'.⁴ This agreement however was crossed out with no explanation and there is then a gap in the minutes until 1717. Breach Monthly Meeting recorded a collection of £2 for the building of a meeting house at Perlsitch in that year, though it is possible that the collection was wrongly ascribed and was intended for Slackhall meeting house which

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1. LJRO, Will of Edmund Bradbury 1690. It could also have been the messuage devised to his younger children for life which was specifically stated to be in Perlsitch. *The exact location is unknown.*
 2. CCRO, EFC 3/1, 7.2.1698.
 3. " " -.2.1702, (f.31v).
 4. CCRO, EFC 3/1, -.4.1714, (f.38v).

was being constructed at the time. Perhaps the sale of old iron at Perlsitch the following year indicated some sort of refurbishing - though not on a very grand scale as it only fetched 1s.¹

At a later date in the draft minutes preserved at the Cheshire County Record office there are various items which relate to the repair work and caretaking of a meeting house. Which one is not stated but it seems likely that it was Perlsitch, or possibly ~~LOW LAUGHMAN~~. The Heathcote family, William, Mary and Dorothy seem to have had a monopoly of the caretaking after 1740, though it is not clear that the accounts are comprehensive.

1. CCRO, EFC 3/1, 7.3.1718, f39.

CHAPTER III

OCCUPATIONS

The social background of a religious group spread all over the country is bound to differ slightly according to location and the structure of the community.¹ It is highly unlikely that any group within the rather artificial boundaries of a county will fall neatly into categories which either substantially confirm or deny generalisations or observations made about other groups of Friends in other counties. Additionally the evidence for attempting this doubtful manoeuvre is very scanty and probably unreliable: to avoid this attempt however would result in a very incomplete picture of Friends in their surroundings.

The evidence for occupations of Friends in Derbyshire has to be gathered from a number of sources, resulting in an incomplete and probably weighted survey (Appendix II). Unlike some Quarterly Meeting registers, those for Derbyshire rarely state the occupations of any of the parties involved until after the mid-eighteenth century. There is no obvious tendency on the part of those responsible for making the entry to note those connected with the upper ranks of society,² thus there is probably little upward social bias for what information there is. Other scattered sources undoubtedly mean an unsystematic sample; wills and inventories are very fruitful for this purpose but by relying heavily on them the result may over-represent certain classes or occupations which were more

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1. cf M. Spufford, The Social Status of some Seventeenth Century Rural Dissenters, Studies in Church History, Ecclesiastical History Soc. Vol.8, p.203.
 2. cf Vann, p.61. 'Upper ranks' in Derbyshire must really be the most prosperous rather than the gentry by birth, none of whom appear in the Quaker registers.

prone to make wills - or which were sufficiently well off to have something to leave behind them. Thus a substantial group, the poor, are almost certainly under-represented. Similarly the use of the Quarterly Meeting records of Sufferings, where the occupations of the persecuted were frequently stated, may well reflect a substantial bias in favour of landowners or occupiers in rural areas which increased during the eighteenth century, since tithes were rarely paid in towns.

Definition of occupation was no easier in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries than it is now, and the role played by a man to his own greatest satisfaction may not be the same as the role which the outside world regarded him as fulfilling. Thus self-descriptions of testators may differ from those made by their neighbours when they came to appraise the goods left behind. Edward Bower, of Tortop, in the parish of Glossop, regarded himself as a clothier when making his will, but his neighbours, Ralph Clayton, Nicholas Warrington and Jeremiah Turner thought of him as a woollen draper.¹ In other cases they may genuinely have had different occupations at different periods of their lives and so have used varying descriptions. Hostile authorities often recorded the occupations of those whom they harassed or imprisoned, though they were frequently inaccurate or ignorant. The 1682 presentments of recusants to Quarter Sessions provides some indication about the employment of some Friends but by no means all. Deeds are a fruitful source where they survive but few of the legal documents with which local Friends were concerned remain among the Quaker records, bar those for the Society's property.

Given the complications and contradictions involved no attempt has been made to define Friends' occupations very strictly. Certain groups are fairly clear: the agricultural and manufacturing groups who tended to be

1. LJRO, Will and inventory of Edward Bower, 1697.

amongst the middle to higher income bracket; the gentry and professional group which, although small, is much better documented than the rest; the distribution and retailing group which, in this county at least, was dominated by the wholesalers; the miners, whose occupation is the only one which can be classed as specifically related to the area and the remaining group whose work was building, labouring and service. A division into pre- and post-1700 has been made for the sake of comparison but this is inevitably approximate. Many Friends spent part of their working lives on both sides of the turn of the century and a dividing line which came in 1690 or 1710 would probably be just as valid.

By far the largest number of recorded occupations for Friends in Derbyshire are agricultural and manufacturing, the totals for which are very much the same for the periods both before and after 1700. Among the former, the 34 who were noted as connected with the land prior to the turn of the century included ten husbandmen who have only two counterparts in the later records. The definition between yeomen and husbandmen may well have been blurred by the late seventeenth century even in the eyes of contemporaries and their economic status at death was not markedly different, at least on the evidence of a survey of their wills. Self styled husbandmen left amounts which ranged between £65.2s. left by William Cowlshaw in 1666 and £174.5s.9d. by Joshua Clayton who died in 1710. Henry Taylor, however, who died a yeoman in 1702, left goods worth a paltry £4.12s.6d. while Henry Bowman, also styled a yeoman, died only ten years later but possessions in his inventory amounted to £1166. 0s.6d. For the purposes of this survey therefore no distinction has been made between different types of agricultural interest, except for labourers.

There are however drawbacks to this kind of evidence.¹ Taken on their own, wills and inventories can be misleading if account is not taken of the omissions. Henry Taylor, above, was described as a yeoman but the list of his belongings at death included no husbandry tools or livestock. Had he disposed of all these things before his death, perhaps to his heirs, in return for board and lodging for life? It seems likely and suspicion is instantly aroused about the true value of his estate. It may represent the living standard to which he was reduced, or which he had chosen, but that may hide a very prosperous earlier career. Yeomen who left goods to the value of over £100 in their inventories outnumbered those who left less (12:7); some left substantially more, indicating considerable wealth. These inventories probably represent a reasonably accurate picture of prosperity continued up to the point of death: for the others an unknown factor may have to be added to assess the total agricultural wealth amongst Friends in the county. A similar problem arises when the contents of the existing inventories of non-agricultural workers are analysed. How strong was the commitment to some sort of agriculture by even those who professed to follow another occupation? Many did not declare an interest in the land but the inventories of 36 Friends whose occupations are known show evidence of some involvement.² Of those, all 13 of the group which gave their occupations as something quite different were amongst those whose goods included either livestock or tools connected with some sort of farming. Most had more than the conventional concept of a man with one pig in the back yard would need. There is a definite, if obscured involvement with the land here which applied to a wider section of the community than might be realised from a glance at Friends' stated occupations.

1. cf. A. Macfarlane, The Family Life of Ralph Josselin, (CUP, 1970), p. 64.
 2. cf. A. B. Anderson 'A Study in the Sociology of Religious Persecution: The First Quakers' Journal of Religious History, vol 19 no. 3 (June 1977) p. 260

Details of this sort being difficult to obtain and harder to interpret knowing the drawbacks, it would be unwise to rely heavily on a distribution map of agricultural occupation. The evidence tends to confirm the general pattern of a concentration of Friends concerned with agriculture in the Scarsdale, High Peak and Morleston and Litchurch hundreds though with a reduction in the High Peak after the turn of the century. This is consistent with the reduced number of Friends in the Monyash Monthly Meeting partly through emigration and partly when they were no longer inspired by the driving force of John Gratton.

Broad classifications of occupations cannot take into account the regional variations which are nevertheless important in their context. The apparent majority of Friends involved in the manufacturing industries in Derbyshire were concerned with the primary processes, in particular in the cloth industry. Before about 1700 the proportion - for what it is worth on incomplete data - of those involved in the initial stages of the cloth industry, which required greater capital and investment, and those concerned with the weaving of the material and tailoring was in the proportion of 3:2. After 1700 the gap widened, 3:1 though there are fewer figures for the period. The Friends who came into the first category are the wholesalers, consisting of clothiers and dyers, many of whom displayed considerable wealth at death. Edward Bower, a clothier who died in 1697, left goods behind him worth over £400 and Thomas Burbick a dyer from Chesterfield nearly £300 in 1712.

As might be expected there is less evidence about those employed in the secondary processes of manufacturing than the first. They tended to be men with little personal wealth who worked as weavers, websters,

tailors or, later, framework knitters and usually left little trace behind them. The inventory left by Richard Lee, a coverlet maker, was typical of this group of manufacturers. He died in 1710, leaving his wife with six children of whom half were able to earn their own living. His household goods were carefully itemised in the inventory but did not amount to as much as £10 of the total of £42.18s.8d.¹ He left instructions about the disposal of his looms to his two younger sons and the residue of goods in the house were to go to his eldest son, William. These included a substantial stock of bed covers of varying quality: coverlets at 2s.6d. or 3s. apiece; roman coverlets at 5s. each; 'course blanketts' at 5s. a pair, better blankets at 6s. a pair and quilts of differing quality. Such a list of assets in his establishment demonstrates the difficulty of categorizing occupations since it is quite clear that he was also a retailer of bed coverings and had £16.9s.6d. of his small capital laid out in made up goods. He only had £1.15s. worth of yarn, dyed and undyed, in the shop, together with 4s. worth of 'hemping yarne' and the same of 'course wool and yarne' in the chamber over the shop. Yet his working tools, his looms worth £1 each, were the only specific bequests (apart from small sums of money) indicating that they were highly prized.

Even within the broad categories of primary and secondary manufacturers which appear to neatly coincide with socio-economic groups there are bound to be anomalies. It is difficult to fit the Ashton family who were described as weavers into the general outline, unless they can be regarded as weavers who employed others. Samuel Ashton, senior, was clerk of Chesterfield Monthly Meeting for over twenty years, and his children and grandchildren married into well-known and fairly prosperous

1. LJRO, Inventory of Richard Lee, 1710.

Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire Quaker families. His son Samuel, another weaver, died in 1744 and left a well-furnished house of seven rooms.¹ Amongst his possessions were several maps, looking glasses in three rooms and 'a weather glass'. Goods in the house amounted to nearly £60 but in addition he had £70 worth of stock, £35 worth of wool and £5 worth of tools. A total value of £169.18s.6d puts him, monetarily at least, into a different bracket from other weavers of the county, almost certainly an employer rather than an employee.

Most of those involved in manufacturing as an occupation were situated in the same areas as those who were concerned with agriculture, namely the Scarsdale, High Peak and Morleston and Litchurch hundreds. The difference between the numbers involved in the late seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth is insignificant for any area except the High Peak where some early Friends were substantial clothiers round New Mills and in the parish of Glossop but either moved out of the area or died out as Quaker families in the eighteenth century.

There is little evidence of interest in the Society of Friends amongst the professional or landed classes in Derbyshire, though the position of those who were Friends enables far more information to be compiled about them than for humbler individuals. The only Quaker family which could remotely be called landed was that of the Rodes of Barlborough Hall. Lady Martha Rodes, widow of Sir Francis, was probably converted at the end of the 1680s at the same time as her son, Sir John. She received an indemnity against all fines for herself and her family and household from James II in 1686² on account of the way in which her late husband had been treated, which rather suggests that the family had

1. LJRO, Inventory of Samuel Ashton, 1744.
2. Add.MSS 6705 f.105.

Catholic sympathies.¹ The portrait of Lady Martha as a young woman which is reproduced in A Quaker Post Bag does not depict any Puritan restrictions of dress. By the time she was corresponding with her son in the early 1690s she was using Quaker terminology and had won recognition as a Friend from some of the best known Quakers of the time. She never took part in the organization of the Society in Derbyshire but referred in her letters quite frequently to local Friends.² Despite her apparent adherence her death in 1719 was not registered amongst Friends, nor in the parish register, though she was buried within the altar rails of Barlborough parish church.

Lady Martha's son, Sir John, was a retiring Friend for almost all his adult life. His connection with the Society may date from as far back as 1688 when a John Rodes was one of the Derbyshire representatives at the Yearly Meeting.³ (There was another John Roads and inconsistency in spelling does not always make it clear which was which). The following year Second Day Morning Meeting received a letter from him about the appointment of John Linam (a young Derbyshire Friend) as clerk of the Meeting.⁴ He certainly attended Yearly Meeting in 1690, 1694 and 1702 and if London Friends had been able to prevail, would have been down in London much more frequently. Yorkshire Meetings as well as those in Derbyshire had reason to be grateful for his generosity, though like his mother he took no part in the organization of the Society in his home county. His interest in the affairs of the Quakers however remained strong and his nephew by marriage, Silvanus Bevan, was still writing to him about current events until shortly before his death in 1743.⁵

1. cf J.Miller, Popery and Politics in England 1660-88, (CUP, 1973), p.204.

2. Locker Lampson, p.31-2.

3. YMM, Vol.I, 1688.

4. Mo.MM, 14.2.1689/90.

5. Locker Lampson, p.200.

Other members of the Rodes family included Frances, Lady Martha's second daughter who may have become a Friend during the 1690s. She married Dr. Gilbert Heathcote in Barlborough parish Church on December 30th, 1690 and her two sons were baptised there. There is no mention of her in the Society's records but it seems unlikely that she did not join her husband amongst Friends.

Gilbert Heathcote was the son of a dissenter and his uncle, Cornelius Clark, is credited by Mrs Locker Lampson with having built and endowed the first dissenting chapel in Chesterfield.¹ References to him in letters to Sir John Rodes suggest that he was convinced about 1693 and that consequently he had much displeased his mother. Henry Gouldney wrote to Sir John the same year: 'I observe what thou writes about the Doctor's Mother. Tis a branch that springs from the old root of envy, a true Charracteristick of that malicious tribe who had (was the Choice their own) rather hang up ten quakers than sacrifice one liffe of their owne'². The following sentence, which suggests that Sir John should bear the brunt of her displeasure, perhaps indicates that the baronet had been influential in persuading his brother-in-law to become a Friend. Other, often oblique, references imply that the doctor went through a considerable struggle over his beliefs, possibly due to the influence of his wife and Henry Gouldney in particular was not prepared to accept that he was a fully credited member of the Society until 1703. Others however were less sceptical and he was acting for and in the Society some time before this. In 1702 he gave £62.2s.6d towards the purchase of Overend farm as an investment for the placing out of apprentices³ and in the same year he was chosen to go to London about the problem of

1. Locker Lampson, p.11 note.

2. " p.55.

3. Q 62B, Accounts.

affirmation. He moved permanently to London in 1711 but was used as a contact by Derbyshire Friends until the time of his death in 1719. He was described as an eminent physician and in the year of his death became a member of the College of Physicians. Judging from the prescriptions which have survived he had a wide practice, which included not only Friends but also the aristocracy. A bundle of these is preserved in Sheffield City Library: they are probably copies made by both Gilbert and Cornelius Heathcote, his son, as well as other doctors with whom Gilbert seems to have corresponded.¹ The Quaker influence is apparent in the slightly perjorative addition to the title of the Duchess of Newcastle 'so called', but there seems to have been little other distinction between patients, and the list includes Sir Paul Jenkinson, an impropiator of the tithe, who came in for a certain amount of opprobrium from Friends on account of his demands.

Cornelius Heathcote, son of Gilbert, was also a doctor. He achieved his MD at Leyden in 1717 and lived in Cutthorp in Derbyshire after his father moved to London. It is not clear how much he practised, though some of the prescriptions noted above are initialled by him. He was quite active in the Society, representing the county twice or possibly three times at Yearly Meetings and seems to have been chosen on several occasions because of his political ability or contacts. Had he lived longer - he died in 1730 at the age of thirty six - he might have become more prominent, though he had already benefited local Friends by presenting them with the site of Dronfield Meeting House in 1728.²

Very few other Friends who could be described as either gentry or professionals were active members of the Society in Derbyshire. At least

1. Sheffield City Library, BHD 310.

2. Q 300.

one Friend, Samuel Sidon, who had medical aspirations, if not qualifications, emigrated to Pennsylvania in 1699 where he was reported to do 'much good by Administering physich.'¹ Gideon Wells, a doctor who spent most of his time in Yorkshire, lived for a short time in the county but probably returned to Yorkshire after a few years,² and Edmund Bradbury, who described himself as 'Gentl.', lived in a house known as the Mansion House. He disposed of quite a lot of property in his will but his inventory revealed him to be no better off than neighbouring yeomen which was almost certainly what he was himself.³

The category of occupations encompassing distribution and trade covers a very wide range of wealth and it is often difficult to distinguish from manufacturing industries in an age when men often acted as both wholesalers and retailers or manufacturers and retailers. Of those Friends in Derbyshire whose wills or inventories survive and whose involvement in trade or distribution is known, the majority were wholesalers rather than small traders. They include a mealman, a maltster, a lead merchant, a grocer, a tanner and woolen draper as well as Thomas Vice, who described himself as a chapman in his will. (His wealth may well have been acquired in London to which he moved from Calow at some unknown date but his will was proved in Derby in 1739.⁴ In it he bequeathed £1000 to be divided between his nephew and three nieces, each of whom also received some silver.) The Frith family of Chesterfield, who were butchers through three generations, were not described at any point as wholesalers but were probably at the more prosperous end of the retailing scale: at least two of them attended Yearly Meeting on behalf of Derbyshire Friends which was an activity

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1. A.C.Myers, Quaker Arrivals at Philadelphia, (private, 1902).
 2. Q 61A, 1733.
 3. LJRO, Edmund Bradbury's will and inventory, 1690.
 4. PRO, PCC Prob 12/109.

not indulged in by those whose income was dependent on their constant presence. Other members of the family were either dyers or grocers, both of which were occupations requiring a certain amount of capital involvement. Thus the only other Friends left in this group designated as distributors or traders are an undifferentiated merchant, who may well have been a wholesaler, Anthony Allen who was described as a badger but who seems to have been a carrier as well¹, and Henry Tomlinson and his grandson John Gratton who were both chandlers. Henry Tomlinson was probably not well off, but there are gradations in this trade as in others and his grandson was sufficiently wealthy to indulge in a considerable amount of property purchase, as well as frequently underwriting the expenses of Monyash Monthly Meeting. As chandlers are classed, he cannot have been one of the poorest.

It seems surprising that there should be little evidence of involvement in lead and coal mining activities in a county which at various periods was quite intensively worked. The lack of evidence may be due to the paucity of the records or it is possible that not very many Friends were concerned locally.

During the late seventeenth century there is more evidence of Derbyshire interest in Yorkshire mining projects than in Derbyshire itself. Additionally such evidence is more in the nature of management and investment in a business enterprise than involvement in the mining processes. The 'Derbyshire Partners' were a group who subscribed to such works in Yorkshire at this time, some of whom were definitely Friends. Robert Barker from Derbyshire was deeply involved in a number of projects at Grassdale and Swaledale with Philip Swale, a Yorkshire Friend, on behalf of Philip, Lord Wharton.² He was succeeded in 1681 by his son,

1. Locker Lampson, p.19.

2. All the papers concerned with this are in the N.Yorkshire Record Office, R/Q/R.

Adam, whose adherence to the Society is doubtful, and John Renishaw of Birks, near Worksop. All three worked in managerial positions but their connection with the Society can only be inferred by letters addressed to them as 'Friend'. No trace of the Barker family remains in Derbyshire Registers of Births, Marriages and Burials and there is only one entry, being the death of a daughter Francesse in 1666, which may be connected with John Renishaw. The chance record of parental occupation of Derbyshire children who moved to London and married within the compass of the Two Weeks Meeting reveals one lead miner and two coal miners in Derbyshire before 1700.

Lack of involvement, however, does not denote lack of interest in mining and it is perhaps not surprising to find the name of Gilbert Heathcote amongst those of the Derbyshire Partners to whom dividends were paid. He invested £125, though others risked much more; they were paid fairly regularly during the period of Philip Swale's accountancy of the company and thanks to his meticulous methods there are a number of miscellaneous records to complement the more formal accounts.

After 1700 only one miner - George Potter - can be identified although the activities of the London Lead Company, which first took up leases in the parishes of Wensley and Winster, not far from Ashover,¹ in 1721 must have led to the employment of local labour. The Company, which is also known as the Quaker Lead Company, introduced a new reverberatory furnace in Derbyshire and was involved in extensive drainage works. They exerted considerable pressure to improve communications, in particular the turnpiking of the Ashover road and the cutting of a canal from

1. A. Raistrick, Quakers in Science and Industry (David and Charles, new ed. 1968), p.183.

Chesterfield to Stockwith. Both projects were ultimately completed and the Company, which contributed to the cost, benefited from greatly improved transport in its later years. Joseph Whitfield, the local agent for the company, lived at Bower's Mill having moved from Allandale, Northumberland in 1734. The Company decided at that date that they had raised sufficient ore in the area to justify their own local smelt mill and three years later Joseph Whitfield was already playing a role in the local organization of the Society.¹ Perhaps his case underlines the enforced state of ignorance about Friends' occupations: at no point was his connection with the mining enterprises mentioned in the Society's records, and it is only through other sources that his role can be appreciated. If this is true for him, how many others must be in the same position?

The Barker family reappear in the eighteenth century as interested parties to mining activities.² It is unlikely that they were Friends but lead smelted at Shacklow Mill on the Wye by them was sold to Chesterfield lead merchants, including Joseph Storrs, a prominent local Friend, in the middle of the century. Other Quakers may have participated as lead merchants particularly when the Barker Company became more extensive later in the century.

The remaining categories into which occupations can be divided form little part of the overall picture of Friends' employment in Derbyshire. The building trades were represented by masons and carpenters but only six have been identified, all in the Scarsdale hundred and all before 1700. Those mentioned as servants were almost equally unusual though the letters from Lady Martha Rodes to her son Sir John in London permit the identification of Samuel Barker, her bailiff, as a probable Friend.³

1. Q 62C, 21.2.1737.

2. G.G.Hopkinson, 'Derbyshire Lead Mining and Smelting', DAJ, Vol.78, 1958.

3. Locker Lampson, p.16.

Labouring was the professed occupation of a further five Friends in the Scarsdale hundred before the turn of the century but none after that. Their precise type of work was unspecified, but it is likely to have been agricultural.

The total number of known Friends in these occupations is small, amounting to nineteen in all, of which only one, a builder, is mentioned after 1700. It is hard to tell if this represents a genuine reduction in the number of Friends engaged in this type of more menial work or if they simply went unremarked because of their rather lowly status.

Builders, carpenters and masons may have been in greater prominence in the early part of the Society's history because they were in greater demand for the construction of meeting houses; on the other hand they were also required for the constant repairs and minor alterations which were undertaken later in the Society's history. The business records however rarely reveal whether Friends were employing one of their own members or merely the local handyman. It is similarly difficult to guess the adherence of various servants and housekeepers who are mentioned incidentally in the records. Was Daniel Clark more likely to have had an affair with a servant who was a Friend or a non-Friend? It seems probable that she was not a Friend as she was not disowned with him. Whatever the reason, there appear to be few Quaker servants in the area who were prepared to admit to their occupation.

Having surveyed the occupations which can be ascertained what conclusions, if any, can be drawn? Is it valid to base assumptions on such incomplete evidence? The answer to the last question is probably that it is hazardous to make assumptions but that there is no reason why tentative conclusions should not be drawn, bearing in mind that they may have to be radically altered.

The predominance of the wealthier agricultural and manufacturing classes seems clear, both in numbers and influence. Neither the higher echelons of society, nor the more lowly were sufficiently numerous to be very influential, though it must be remembered that the poor are probably under-represented. In so far as the evidence goes it appears to support Professor Vann's theory that 'The core of support for early Quakerism seems to have been the yeomen and wholesale traders. These social groups together with the gentry seem also to have provided most of the leadership'.¹ To these could be added those involved in the primary processes of the wool trade, some of whom were also wholesalers, and who might well be synonymous with yeomen. In Yorkshire, the bordering county, the term 'yeoman' was found at the same time to be interchangeable in wills with the term 'clothier'² and it seems more than possible that the same is true in Derbyshire. The effect would be to make this predominant group even more homogeneous and possibly slightly exclusive. What is more, if the figures are to be given credence, the proportion of this type of Friend was not very markedly different before 1700 and after, arguing that the social situation was fairly static, though the distribution within the county may have altered slightly. 63 out of a known 103 occupations in the pre-1700 period were concerned with either agriculture or manufacturing, 61 out of 86 after the turn of the century.

It would be surprising, in view of these figures, if the predominant influence was other than that exerted by this broad group of Friends. They also constituted the executive group within the county and on business outside it, having sufficient means and opportunity to travel.

1. Vann, p.71-2.

2. H. Heaton, The Yorkshire Woollen and Worsted Industries from the Earliest Times up to the Industrial Revolution (O.U.P., 1920), p.93.

It is hardly possible to gauge whether this group changed noticeably over the century since the records of those appointed by the Quarterly Meeting to attend Yearly Meeting only begin in 1681, but it would appear that the composition of the groups remained much the same, both before 1700 and after. Before the turn of the century the occupations of seven out of the ten appointed are known and they comprised two of the wealthier manufacturers, one gentleman, one doctor and one yeoman, as well as John Gratton who was a minister. From a total of 32 Friends with known occupations who were chosen to attend after 1700, 19 came from the same group. They give evidence of professional ability to run the affairs of the Society as well as their own concerns. They knew who to contact for political influence and they were capable of sustaining correspondence.

Monthly Meetings were not always very particular about recording the names of those chosen to attend Quarterly Meeting and of the total of forty-eight mentioned, the occupations of only half are known. This may be partly due to the fact that the lower down the ranks of the Society one goes the less likely it becomes that the names of members and their occupations are mentioned frequently or in conjunction with one another. At least twenty-five of those chosen were yeomen and another five came from the wholesale traders or from the more prosperous manufacturers. There is insufficient evidence to make a pre- and post-1700 comparison possible but it seems likely that the same group were as predominant before the turn of the century as after.

To this predominant group can be added the group of gentry and professional men whose numbers were very small in Derbyshire. The dividing

line between these groups must have been thin at times and basically social rather than monetary. The stakes which both of these groups had in the establishment and the organisation of local government militated against involvement with a group like the Friends - and the experience of the one landed family in Derbyshire was similar to that of many others in the country.¹ Gilbert Heathcote Rodes who succeeded his great uncle, Sir John, at Barlborough Hall in 1743, was reported to Chesterfield Monthly Meeting as having attended 'Public Worship' in 1761 and made no attempt to hide the fact that he was leaving the Society. He presumably underwent personal conflicts which do not seem to have beset his predecessor, though there is little evidence the latter was ever tempted to involve himself in public matters. The only recorded occasion when his position caused potential problems was in 1694 when John Gratton wrote to Meeting for Sufferings 'that John Roads is prickt for one of the six in that county to be high Sherive' and he asked for advice about the best way to 'prevent that office'.²

With such thin support at the apex of the social scale the Society in areas like Derbyshire inevitably relied on those who were financially fairly prosperous and who, in a less rigid society would have qualified as gentlemen, if not gentry. The professional classes had an equally tenuous hold in Derbyshire, a fact no doubt partly due to the lack of opportunity for their services in the county. Such a small group could hardly support a doctor or lawyer and it is clear that the Heathcotes treated non-Friends as well as Friends. Lack of opportunity may have prompted Gilbert Heathcote's move to London in 1711.

1. cf. Vann, p.78.

2. MSS Vol IX, p.24, 8.7.1693.

At the other end of the social scale there is almost certainly hidden, but largely ineffective support amongst those who were poverty-stricken. Each Monthly Meeting had its core of destitute Friends, though these were frequently widows, orphaned children or the aged. Able-bodied men would not be supported except through a temporary crisis, and one can only guess that many of those whose dependants relied on charity were involved in occupations which gave them little opportunity to accumulate wealth. However the numbers involved were not large and are not such as to encourage the view that the Society in Derbyshire was, at least initially, one composed largely of the poor. Professor Vann has challenged earlier views about the social and economic status of Friends, most of which emphasize the poverty of the first members of the Society. He admits the difficulty of assessing the occupations and social standing of such Friends but concludes from his own researches that 'in the beginnings of Quakerism the gentry and wholesale traders were especially drawn to it ...'¹ Although there is little really early evidence about Derbyshire Friends' occupations, the Society in that region bears all the marks of a middle-class dominated group for much of its first century of existence.

1. Vann, p.49-50.

CHAPTER IV

SUFFERINGS

Quakers were, and are, famed for their resistance to authority over certain matters of principle. In the seventeenth century their opposition to paying tithes, taking oaths and removing their hats were all irritants to civil and ecclesiastical officials who were attempting additionally to enforce the statute law against dissenters passed at intervals since the reign of Elizabeth I. Suspicion about the motives of dissenters and recusants prompted a succession of Acts which could be invoked by the authorities. After the Restoration of 1660 a series of penal laws were passed by Parliament and, not content with those passed by their contemporaries, Council authorized the re-enactment of several Elizabethan statutes against Catholics. These could be, and were applied to Friends and other dissenters.

The early post-Restoration legislation consisted of a number of Acts designed to uphold the Established Church and rid the nation of discordant elements. The Corporation Act of 1661 (13 Car II stat. 2, c.1) imposed a sacramental test on officers and members of municipal corporations and was followed the next year by an act specifically against Quaker conventicles (13 & 14 Car II, c.1). The provisions of this were extended to include all dissenting groups in 1664, the Conventicle Act, (16 Car II, c.4) which was in itself a re-enactment of a temporary Act of 1593 (35 Eliz I, c.1) to exile separatists. Its provisions deemed meetings to be riots under the common law and conviction by a jury led to a fine or imprisonment. The Five Mile Act of 1665 (17 Car II, c.2) was less frequently invoked against Friends than

dissenters since its provisions, the exclusion of ministers from teaching or living within five miles of a corporate town, applied more to those groups which had a paid ministry.

The lapse of the 1664 Conventicle Act, together with activity by Archbishop Sheldon against dissenters at the end of the 1660s, prompted the passage of the Second Conventicle Act (22 Car II, c.1.). The potential monetary rewards offered in this for information against dissenters were quickly appreciated by those who found work as informers congenial. They could expect one third of any fine levied as a result of a successful prosecution and, if a magistrate was unwilling to take action as a result of information supplied, they could expect to receive half the fine of £100. Harrassment of minor officials was also amongst the powers given to these men, since constables or churchwardens who neglected a potential prosecution were subject to a fine of £5.

The rigorous interpretation of this infamous act was followed by the short-lived Declaration of Indulgence issued by Charles II in 1672. Despite its promise of toleration it widened the gap for many dissenters, (in particular the Presbyterians), between reality and their concept of an established, comprehensive, church. The sceptical reaction of many contributed to the backlash of persecuting legislation passed in the last decade of Charles' reign. In 1676 Council ordered the re-enactment of the Elizabethan Act to retain the Queen Majesty's Subjects in their due obedience (23 Eliz.I, c.1). This inflicted a fine of £20 per month on non-attenders at the parish church, or an alternative distraint by the Crown of two-thirds of the offender's lands until he should attend church again. Such fines were widely imposed, though in the 1680s the more lenient authorities levied the alternative fine of 1s for every failure to attend.

By this date the body of general dissenting opinion had grown; few, if any, considered comprehension within the Anglican church as a possibility and the latter retaliated with increasing penalties for non-conformity. Although the Second Conventicle Act had specifically forbidden the levying of a second fine on those convicted previously, the revival of the 1593 Act during the 1680s provided the excuse that meetings could be deemed riots for the purpose of the common law and thus those who attended could be penalized. The years 1680-86 witnessed some of the harshest persecution of Friends¹ but the Declaration of Indulgence by James II in 1687 cut the ground from beneath the feet of the Established Church. The clergy lost control over their parishioners other than in matrimonial and testamentary matters, tithe cases and affairs relating to the parish church and furnishings; all cases of non-attendance or moral laxity were removed from the ecclesiastical courts. In Derbyshire William Newsome, constable of Glossop, provided an unconscious reminder of the additional responsibilities thus assumed by the State when he reported to Chesterfield Quarter Sessions in 1689 'I have no popeish recusants nor grayhoundes nor quakers nor guns to the best of my knowledge within my liberty'². Friends were relieved of much of the earlier persecution which they had suffered at the hands of the Church and the clergy were left to dispute amongst themselves their emasculated position. Thereafter, Anglican preoccupation with the position of the Church vis-a-vis the Crown and the State combined with internal matters of doctrine and discipline to reduce the opportunities to persecute Friends.

The eighteenth century witnessed few successful attempts to further harass dissenters, though continual attempts were made against the practice of occasional conformity. The Act, eventually passed in 1711, was of short

1. cf Vann, p.92. This was due to a combination of anti-Catholic feeling and vigorous attempts by Sheldon to increase the authority of the Church of England.

2. Cox, Vol I, p.112.

duration - it was repealed in 1718 - and even as it was passed many in the Church were entertaining serious thoughts about the advantages of separation between Church and State. The death of Queen Anne in 1714 narrowly avoided the passing of the Schism Act which would have prevented dissenters from teaching. With the Hanoverian succession the opportunity for the Church of England to return to the position it occupied in the 1680s was gone forever. Thereafter non-conformists, of whatever type, were actively trying to enhance their position rather than defending their stance.

Contravention of these statutes was the most common cause of prosecution in the early years of Friends' existence but, both before and after the Toleration Act, refusal to pay tithes and church dues was another frequent reason for persecution. It was a frequent source of annoyance to the ecclesiastical authorities and it was one of the few remaining matters over which they had competence in the eighteenth century. The non-payment of tithes constituted the bulk of the persecutions recorded in the Derbyshire Quarterly Meeting record of Sufferings and after 1696, when an isolated case of a demand for mortuary fees was noted, the Sufferings were entirely for tithes and church dues, most of which did not exceed the statutory amount of one tenth of the increase.

The penalties for refusal to pay tithes were severe in the seventeenth century, though persecution was not without retribution as Ellis Hookes noted for one of the earliest Derbyshire cases. 'Thomas Bower for 14s tythes was judged by one Britton steward of a hundred court to have four times soe much to be taken from him but the Lord cutt the said Britten off from the earth shortly after'¹. That was in 1657 and already one Derbyshire Friend, John Allen, had been imprisoned for refusal to pay tithes².

1. Book of Sufferings, Vol. I, 1657.

2. " " " " " 1656.

The number of prisoners for this particular discipline of the Society was at least twenty between 1656-1713 in Derbyshire alone; in 1694 Ellen Fretwell died in custody for a matter of tithes¹. By the eighteenth century, however, imprisonment was rare and early competence over informing Meeting for Sufferings about difficult cases in relation to tithe payment had lapsed, probably because advice was less frequently needed. Also, Friends were increasingly avoiding this discipline of the Society which must have soured relationships with the Established Church in a situation which was becoming more harmonious in other ways. The reduction in the number of tithe persecutions can be explained in a number of ways, but nothing can hide the fact that Friends were continually exhorted by Yearly Meeting to be more faithful over the matter. Some reduction in the numbers recorded in the Quarterly Meeting book of Sufferings may be explained by the increasing tendency in the eighteenth century for the diminishing number of Friends to live in urban areas where no tithe was payable. This would not, however, be sufficient explanation for the fact that Samuel Ashton of Chesterfield, clerk of the Monthly Meeting from 1691-1712, is only mentioned by the Quarterly Meeting as paying tithes for the four years before his death in 1728. Occupation of tithe-free land could be another explanation for this problem but that cannot clarify the omission of Dr. Gilbert Heathcote of Cutthorp from the local records of sufferings until after he had moved to London in 1711. From the following year, until his death in 1719, his name appears regularly against the enforced payment of tithe; thereafter, tithes were taken from his son Cornelius and, subsequently, from his widowed daughter-in-law Elizabeth in respect of the estate at Cutthorp. These two instances suggest that either there was considerable collusion with the impropiators of the tithe, or that

1. YMM, Vol II, 1694.

even prominent Friends were sometimes ignored until external events forced their existence on the notice of the authorities.

The lead miners of Derbyshire had a continuous history in the seventeenth century of opposition to paying tithes of ore¹. This undoubtedly involved some Friends (though the references to payment in ore are very few) and the matter was considered sufficiently important to be raised at Meeting for Sufferings, although, as so often happened, there was no reported conclusion to the matter. The Meeting recorded on 14.1.1700/1 that 'there being consent given by the Parliament to bring in a Bill to prevent vexatious suits about tithes of the lead mines in Darbyshire - the Friends that attended the Parliament are desired to Endeavour to get in some Clause to relieve Friends therein or at least to prevent the Rigorous Prosecution for Tythes and when the Bill is brought in, the Friends to view or take an Abstract of Copy thereof as they see meet'. Two months later the receipt of a letter from John Gratton and Joseph Storrs (himself a lead merchant) was noted, in which it was reckoned that the Bill 'will be a very great hardship upon the Minors'², and it was hoped that it would be stopped. The history of lawsuits over the matter had been very long and the miners had resorted to opposition to tithes parish by parish³, a fact which had strengthened Friends' case against tithes but had also helped to promote the intended bill. No reference to it was made in the local records, however, and the extent of Friends' involvement remains one of the enigmas of the period.

Refusal to take oaths or to remove a hat in the presence of authority were both further matters for which Friends suffered. The first was

1. VCH, Vol II, p.332.

2. MMS, Vol XV, p.81, 16.3.1701.

3. VCH, Vol II, p.333.

frequently used by the authorities as a means of prosecuting Quakers in their custody when the existing charge seemed unlikely to succeed (see below). Consequently, the number of occasions recorded in the Quarterly Meeting record of Sufferings when the charge was purely for refusing to take an oath is small, and the cases are nearly all early. Similarly in the case of hat-honour. Refusal to remove their hats in the presence of authority, parental, ecclesiastical or civil, appeared to contemporaries as 'not only ill-bred but deliberately offensive'¹, as was the Quaker determination to use the form 'thou' to all ranks of person. It marked Friends as apart from the rest of the community, but it was a situation to which both the authorities and 'the world's people' became accustomed over time. Thus, the only cases concerning hat-honour in Derbyshire were in the early years of the movement, when Friends were twice imprisoned, in 1657 and 1662², for refusing to conform at the General Sessions. They were imprisoned and George Lingard [possibly a mis-nomer for John] suffered the indignity of being put among the felons and refused the privilege of seeing his Friends.

Despite the fact that the Sufferings compiled by Friends are amongst the fullest local records available, they still leave unexplained gaps. They are also uneven in their content, both in periods of time and in different areas of the country³. In Derbyshire the total number of

1. Braithwaite, Vol I, p.493.

2. Besse, Vol I, pp.137, 139.

3. cf Alan B. Anderson 'A Study in the Sociology of Religious Persecution: The First Quakers' Journal of Religious History Vol 9 no. 3 (June 1977), p.250. The assumption that virtually all Friends are mentioned in the records at some point seems to me dangerous; it might be true in Lancashire, but in Derbyshire it is unlikely that I have traced all Friends before 1761 despite an exhaustive index of the records.

Friends named in the Sufferings up to 1761 amounts to only about one-sixth of all adult Friends identified during the period. Whilst many of the former group were householders or heads of families who suffered distraint on behalf of others who appear in the latter group, there are nevertheless some surprising omissions. It is possible that this could be partly explained by carelessness on the part of Friends. To date, it has always been assumed that the value of an accurate record to the Quakers was such that contemporary accounts could be relied on. Comparison of the local and central records, Quaker and Anglican, however, makes it clear that for some counties, and Derbyshire was amongst them, registration and recording of Sufferings was not systematically undertaken. In 1713 the Quarterly Meeting was reprimanded by Meeting for Sufferings for failing to notify members of the case of William Hancock, sequestered for tithes¹. There is no local record of the case, raising suspicion about other Friends whose sufferings may not have been recorded.

Other sources of information about Sufferings include the compilation made by Besse in the 1730s. He stated that he had used local sources when he published the Sufferings in 1736, together with 'printed Accounts', presumably pamphlets². Transcriptions of accounts sent to Meeting for Sufferings were also available to him in the Original Records of Sufferings and the Great Book of Sufferings. Despite such a wealth of material, or perhaps because of it, his account does not always tally with the local record in Derbyshire. He consistently recorded a lower total of yearly fines where it is possible to compare the figures, and in one case he transferred a list of Friends excommunicated in 1663 according to the Quarterly Meeting record, to 1668. Despite its drawbacks, however, his

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1. MMS Vol XX, p.87. cf. similar case in Essex at the same date quoted by E.J. Evans, 'Our Faithful Testimony', JFHS, Vol 52 no. 2, p.116.
 2. Besse, Preface p. lv.

work complements and sometimes adds detail otherwise missing at a local level, as do the accounts of sufferings in the Original Record of Sufferings, the Great Book of Sufferings, the Book of Cases, the catalogue of persecution related in Friends' journals and letters and the accounts recorded by hostile authorities.

The latter group includes those of the Anglican church as well as the Quarter Sessions Records. The prosecutions in the courts of the archdeacon or bishop indicate which were the periods of intense Anglican opposition to the Quakers though the course of some of the action is often hard to trace. (The origin of prosecutions is often given more fully in observations and comments made by contemporaries in their journals than in the official records for which the preliminary papers rarely survive). The Quarter Session records for Derbyshire are not extant before 1682, though some for Derby in the 1650s have recently been discovered.

Official persecution of Friends in the county began as early as 1654 when Colonel Saunders was given authority by the Privy Council to break up meetings described as 'numerous and tumultuous'¹. Confirmation that he did so is provided by Besse². Consistent and organized persecution emerged as a policy after the Restoration and the years 1660-1665 saw the greatest degree of co-operation between civil and ecclesiastical authorities. By 1665 the total of those cited to the Bishop's Court had risen to over one hundred in one year³. Fox indicated that Friends had suffered badly when he related that some were cautious of holding large meetings the following year⁴. No church records are extant for the period of the late

1. Penney, p.1.

2. Besse, Vol 1, p.137.

3. LJRO B/V/1/72.

4. Journal, p.508.

1660s but the passing of the Second Conventicle Act in 1670 caused an unprecedented total of fines to be levied by the civil authorities, almost certainly because of increased activity by informers. According to the Quarterly Meeting records a total of £536 7s 4d was taken though Besse's total is only £407 8s. The difference is immaterial since neither is likely to be entirely correct: the surprise comes with comparison to the available figures for the 1660s when the highest amount, in 1665, was only £12. A predictable lull as a result of the Declaration of Indulgence in 1672 was followed by fairly systematic persecution from 1673-1680 according to Quaker records, with goods being distrained on a more uniform basis. The Quarterly Meeting minutes are intermittent for some of this period, a fact explained by a note inserted in 1675: 'The Quarterly Meetings that are omitted setting down here there was not any business in them done (by reason of disturbance from the world) that requires recording'¹. It is from this point that the shift from persecution by a combination of authorities to harassment largely from the clergy and their minions is noticeable, particularly from the evidence in John Gratton's Journal.

Despite the fact that the clergy were increasingly vigilant in their attempts to stamp out Quakerism, there are no more Anglican records of ecclesiastical prosecutions until the late 1670s, perhaps significantly since by that time public consciousness of recusancy was running high. The ecclesiastical authorities seem to have relied in the early 1670s on the civil authorities to prosecute Friends after they had done the initial work. The Popish Plot and the Exclusion crisis had reverberations as far away as Derbyshire with over 130 Friends being cited to the ecclesiastical

1. Q61A, 29.7.1675.

courts in 1679 and 1682. Eighty-six Quakers were also presented at Quarter Sessions during a round-up of over five hundred recusants by the civil authorities in 1682¹. This was a direct result of the trial of a Derbyshire Jesuit, Father Busby, in 1681². Lack of adequate records for this period makes assessment of the extent of suffering very difficult to estimate though it might be expected to be fairly extensive, given the political situation in the country. Cox maintains that 103 Quakers for Scarsdale hundred alone were presented in 1683³; that was the hundred in which the greater number of Friends lived and in which they might be expected to be most conspicuous; it is also the only hundred for which presentments are extant. The Quarterly Meeting record of Sufferings is not full for the 1680s either. A terse note in 1688 recorded the inability of even those present at the time to note all the distraints; 'There is more in this county wee could not give Account of at this time'⁴. The record of fines for this period is fairly minimal, perhaps because the Assize court was having difficulty in extracting them. On two occasions, 1682 and 1684, the Sessions Clerk noted that no money had been paid into the court upon the various convictions made, and in March 1683/4 the Lord of the Treasury wrote exhorting payment of the King's part of the fines due⁵. In 1685 Besse noted that the distraints totalled £252 2s 8d, which must indicate that Friends were hard pressed, especially if it is as much of an underestimate as his earlier figures.

After the Toleration Act of 1689 the gloomy catalogue of sufferings continues, but on a heavily reduced scale. The amounts collected by the impropiators of the tithes were surprisingly uniform for the rest of the period, as are

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1. DCRO, Box XIV, 3.
 2. Cox, Vol 1, p.301; VCH II, p.34.
 3. Cox, Vol 1, p.347.
 4. Q62A, 1688.
 5. DCRO QS order book 1682-1702, 10 March 1683/4.

the actual number of Friends who held to their principles, although the total number of members of the Society declined. It was rare for more than fifteen Friends to be in conflict over tithes and church dues in any one year and the amounts taken never exceeded £35¹.

The steep decline in persecution stemmed from a number of causes, not least of which was the reduction in legal options open to the clergy already referred to. In addition, the Anglican church went through a period of considerable internal tumult in the early years of the eighteenth century and afterwards faced the combined forces of dissenters no longer on the defensive but actively campaigning to establish toleration. On the government side, however, once the Hanoverian succession was firmly established the potential threat of dissenting bodies was reduced and a gradual change in attitude towards non-conformists became apparent. Friends, despite their persistence over tithe payment and the levy of church dues, enjoyed the relaxation of opposition and the generations which grew up during the period of Methodist expansion often found themselves in an established and respected position. This had been achieved as much by the efforts of their predecessors as by the changed position of the Established Church; probity in business, a reputation as good employers and a solid background of quiet success had done much to transform the seventeenth century picture of a potentially subversive sectarian into a respected member of the community. In addition, the reduction in number of Friends in some parts of the country, including Derbyshire, caused a decline in the drive to persecute them as the eighteenth century progressed. It is clear that the priests and the lay impropiators could have extorted more if they had tried - and legally. From those on whom they laid their demands they rarely exceeded the statutory tenth, as those

1. cf. figures given by E.J. Evans for Staffordshire, A History of the Tithe System in England, 1690-1850 with special reference to Staffordshire (unpub. Ph.D. thesis for Warwick University, 1970) Appendix IV.

who kept the Quarterly Meeting record of Sufferings usually pointed out. It would be hard to prove collusion between the church in Derbyshire and Friends in the eighteenth century, but the surprising omission of some well-known Quaker names from the list of those who suffered, coupled with the uniformity of the annual fines, suggests that there may have been some private agreement in force¹.

The failure of excommunication from the Established Church as a spiritual punishment further reduced the power of the Church authorities in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Meted out with monotonous regularity by the courts, absolved and reimposed for a second offence, it made little impression on Friends or others². Derbyshire Friends stopped recording excommunication in their record of Sufferings as early as 1663 and it is only from the Anglican court records that it is clear that it was retained, albeit as an ineffective threat. Those who were already alienated from the Established Church were not likely to be won back by being excommunicated. Nor did the civil disabilities imposed as a result cause hardship. Excommunicates were technically unable to have wills proved in the testamentary court but this did not deter either Anglicans or Friends. Abraham Cundy, excommunicated more than once for being a Quaker, had his will proved in 1686 and administration was granted to his widow who had also been excommunicated. Quaker or Anglican, his was not the only case. Dean Wood of Lichfield, later Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, was excommunicated in 1667 by his predecessor, Bishop Hackett, who wrote to Archbishop Sheldon in some distress about the matter³. Nevertheless, the fact did not prevent his preferment, on the death of Hackett, in 1671. Dr. Marchant has demonstrated how ineffectual this ultimate

1. cf. Evans, *ibid.* p.193.

2. cf. C. Hill Economic Problems of the Church (OUP 1956), p.349 and R.A. Marchant The Church under the Law (OUP 1969), p.228. It seems unlikely that even the poorest members of society were seriously affected as those to whom excommunication mattered were usually rescued by the authorities.

3. Tanner MSS 131, f.18.

weapon of the Church was in the diocese of York in the early part of the century¹ and the evidence in Derbyshire at the end of the century corroborates his conclusions. Sentence of excommunication was only useful to the Church as a means of procuring a writ de excommunicato capiendo.

Determination by the authorities frequently led to prosecution over technicalities which could lead to punishment often unrelated to the original indictment. John Gratton was imprisoned on a writ de excommunicato capiendo in 1680, although the course was technically inaccurate, 'for Nichols had not hit the law right, but the court at London would not let me have law for my money at that time: and I was very uneasy till I came to the temple and heard what tricks the priests party and Nichols had done'². Refusal to take oaths was another technicality used as an excuse to prosecute Friends. There is little record of this in Derbyshire by comparison with neighbouring counties³, but it is possible that this is due to the way in which such incidents were chronicled. By comparing three accounts of the same case, it is clear that early Friends did not always appreciate the ease with which a trivial charge could lead to serious punishment. In 1660, George Goodridge was removed from his house: according to the report of Derbyshire Friends in their Sufferings, this was for reading a Friend's book, and he was subsequently imprisoned. According to the report in the Great Book of Sufferings, and also according to Besse's information, he was imprisoned for refusal to swear. Besse added that he had refused to take the Oath of Allegiance tendered to him; the Great Book of Sufferings leaves the impression that his imprisonment was for a technical

1. Marchant, op. cit. p.226-9.

2. Journal, p.91.

3. cf. R.H. Evans 'The Quakers of Leicestershire', Trans. Leics. Arch. Soc. Vol XXVIII, (1952), p.80.

refusal to swear and that the real cause of the offence to the authorities was the book. Given such disparity in what was a comparatively simple case, it is likely that the number of occasions when a refusal to swear was made the technical excuse for imprisonment is higher than the local records might suggest. Without Sessions records to check the prosecutions, there is no way of being certain.

The attempted manipulation of the law by those determined to persecute Friends was not always successful. The normal process whereby a justice would issue a warrant for the arrest of those technically in breach of the law was difficult for those attempting to enforce it. Until the law was broken, no warrant could be issued, yet to obtain the warrant meant leaving the illegal meeting and riding hot-foot to the nearest magistrate. Friends were well aware of their right to see the warrant: in 1663 Robert Jenkinson of Clifton refused 'to open the stable door without a warrant then some one or two [of the constables and others] returning to the justices did desire a warrant which was granted by Edward Manlove and Edward Begg it being the first day of the weeke at their evening worship but the warrant falsely dated the day before ..'¹. However, an attempt by John Wilson, priest of Monyash to procure a warrant in advance from Justice Ashton in 1674 met with a very distinct rebuff. 'How, said the justice, a meeting that is to be? Had you seen the meeting, I would have granted you a warrant but none will I give you on such account'². Despite such incidents, Friends could not rely on such a partisan attitude and normally they were worsted in their attempts to use the legal process to their own advantage. The attitude of the Yearly Meeting on this was in any case clearly defined. In 1676 Friends were advised not to take advantage of the loopholes in the law but were permitted to follow its due course to their own advantage. Preferably they should

1. Q 62A, 21.6. [1663].

2. Journal, p.65.

trust in the Lord not to permit legal trickery against them¹. If the authorities sometimes had difficulty in obtaining warrants they were usually capable of infinite legal trickery once they had Friends in their power. The examples of John Gratton and Robert Jenkinson cited above were not isolated incidents: a packed jury in 1664 ensured the prosecution of Friends from Clifton. '... the next day beinge the assize wee were had up to the Barr and there they put up a Bill of indittement against us whereon they charged us for meetings together in a tumultuous manner and by force of unlawful Armes to the disturbance of the whole town and country and the souldiers swore to it but when one of us asked the souldiers before the Bench and the Jury what unlawful Armes they saw they answered none; yet notwithstanding the Jury said we were guilty'². In 1676 the substitution of a wrong name in an attachment should have prevented Edward Jackson's bailiff from distraining a cow from John Holmes. Nevertheless, he did³. The same year Hugh Masland and George Ellis were kept 'close Prissoners in Darby Goale for not appeareing at the bishopp Court though they was never thereunto cyted to theire knowledge'⁴. Another trick that the authorities could play.

One of the most unpleasant aspects of seventeenth century legal processes was the position of informers. The Second Conventicle Act of 1670 gave them added scope and although, no doubt, they had previously been active in hunting down Quakers, they were thereafter rewarded by payment of one third of the fine imposed⁵. The massive fines demanded in 1670 may well have been the result of the increased efficiency of the penal laws resulting from their action. The evidence of John Gratton makes it fairly clear that the justices in Derbyshire were not the prime movers

1. Braithwaite, Vol II, p.284.

2. Q 62A, 6.1.1664.

3. " 1676

4. " 26.12.1676

5. 22 Car 11, c.x.

in persecution but the priests who were motivated by both jealousy and fear. This is in contrast to Nottinghamshire where, after 1676, the informers appear to have been the chief activists¹. Gratton did not name any of the informers in Derbyshire but he linked two of them with the priests of Monyash and Chesterfield. Another, who was present at Robert Mellor's burial at Whitehough in Staffordshire (1684), actually was a priest. Other sources confirm this alliance. John Wilson, the priest of Ilkeston was an informer according to the Quarterly Meeting record of Sufferings and at least two other informers, from the same source, were closely related to the clergy.

Who were these faceless men? Apart from the noticeable links mentioned above, they are hardly identifiable. A total of 28 individuals were noted in the Sufferings recorded by the Quarterly Meeting and published by Besse but few of these performed their mean and sly tasks more than once. There was no one, apparently, who worked on the same scale as John Smith, the notorious informer of Nottinghamshire and later Leicestershire². Thirteen informers took the opportunity offered by law in 1670, although not named, and may well have been the source for persecution in later years. They employed devious means to achieve their dubious ends and inspire a distinctly eerie feeling. Gratton gave a graphic description of the man left behind by John Wilson, the priest, at Matlock in 1674, who remained at a back window of the meeting-house, peering in³. Similarly sinister was the behaviour of two informers at Robert Mellor's funeral ten years later. Gratton, who was uneasy, since he was supposed to be in gaol at the time, described how he 'overtook two men in black raiment, who opened the gate for me, but as I went on, it rose in my heart that they were

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1. P.J. Cropper, ed. Sufferings of the Quakers in Nottinghamshire, (London, 1892).
 2. Evans, op.cit. p.82.
 3. Journal, p.65.

informers; they went on also past the grave-yard, as though they had been going further, though I knew there was no road that way which they went; then I slipped off my horse, and went to a stile to watch them, and saw they went through a village into the friends ground who lived there, and lay down under a hedge till the corpse came near, then they arose and put themselves into the crowd'¹. Gratton was subsequently informed against, as were others who attended.

The nature of their trade made the informers universally unpopular and their reports sometimes went unheeded despite the potential redress which they had at law. George Dale, high constable of Derbyshire in 1674, refused to allow the priest's informer to speak². The same year Justice Ayre 'was displeased and sharp upon them [the informers] and bid them look to themselves - for if he found that they did forswear themselves, and that he ever caught them in a lie, or to that effect, he would have their ears; by which they were so daunted, that they went away and let it fall, and troubled us no more'³.

Apart from excommunication and manipulation of the law by the authorities, which frequently resulted in imprisonment, fines and distrains were constantly levied on Friends. They were paid with great difficulty by many Friends and pathetic accounts of the straits to which they were reduced were sometimes appended to an otherwise bare catalogue in the Quarterly Meeting record of Sufferings. In 1670 the officers removed from William Cooper his corn, hay, cow and household goods down'to the coate he should have worn'⁴. John Crosse, on the same occasion, was fined £ 10 15s; the officers took goods from him to the value of £ 6 3s 10d 'it being most that he had: soe that they tooke the landirons [andirons]

1. Journal, p.99.
 2. " p.66.
 3. Gratton, Journal, p.63.
 4. Q 62A, 1670.

and frogs trenchers and grater and would not leave a scellet (though desir'd by some) to boyle Milke for his child¹. At the height of the persecution such household goods were frequently removed. Thomas Lynam, at whose house a meeting was held in Pillesly in 1670, was fined £10 on that occasion and according to the Quarterly Meeting record of Sufferings 'had his goods wholly sold within the house and without many of them being sold upon the account of the former fine yet they did not forbear to make distresse and sell them the second time though they were the same officers that sold them formerly...'². Clearly, household goods sometimes found their way back to the houses of their owners by one means or another. Animals, on occasion, found their own way home. In 1685 the under-sheriff's deputy came to John Frith's house to demand £120 for six months absence from Church. They entered his grounds and drove away thirty sheep, four kine, two foals and three horses. The sheep and cows broke loose from their pasture and went home; the horses, though worth £17, were sold for £10³.

Violence was frequently used in the pre-Toleration period to intimidate Friends, particularly by the minions of the Church which, apart from the imposition of fines or distraints, had little coercive power over trouble-makers. Antagonism by the priest of Matlock to William Bunting resulted in an ugly scene in 1696 when the priest's servant, Jacob Coats, took away one third of what Bunting owned in the parish and struck him 'ten strokes with a pickfork upon his armes shoulders back and other places which brused him sore and when complaint was made to the priest the priest saide hee would beare his man out in what soe ever hee did'⁴. On two occasions doors were broken down, once by the priest himself in 1673 when he

1. Q 62A, 1670.

2. " "

3. Besse, Vol 1, p.144.

4. Q 62A, 17.7.1696.

was trying to remove corn from the house of John Lingard senior¹.

Nearly twenty years later (1692) Phineas Mace priest of Barlborough, authorized his servants to remove tithes worth at least 22.12s from Sir John Rodes of Barlborough Hall and 'the servants were very abusive in there language and broken open the gate that was lockt'². Such action must have been risky, particularly as Rodes was the patron of the living and had appointed Mace in 1682. The ecclesiastical authorities might be prepared to uphold their servants in their actions, (and Friends could be relied upon not to pursue the matter into the civil courts), but the justices were distinctly less enthusiastic. Those who were intent on destroying the Quakers usually employed more subtle means calculated to reduce them to penury.

Mob violence was a phenomenon of the very early days of Quaker persecution. Reaction to Meetings which remained obstinately silent despite goading was strong and many of the early accounts of Sufferings mention groups of 'rude people' who set about Friends through suspicion. Such physical violence involved pulling people about by the hair, beating and stoning. Besse noted that Jane Stones was thrown into some water at Stavely in 1657 for declaring the Truth³, and that at a meeting at Eyam in the High Peak in 1661 Elizabeth Deane was dragged out, while praying, by the constable and soldiers and 'with like violence they drew out the rest, some by the Hair of their Head others by the Legs with their heads on the ground'⁴. Two years before the priest had set a similar example which was followed by 'the people' who pulled 'Hair from their [Friends] heads' and bruised and stoned a number to such a degree that 'they lost much blood and were in great Danger of their lives'⁵. Such physical

1. Q 62A, 1673. This priest was obviously a violent man, having held down John Lingard's son on another occasion when he was reaping corn.

2. Q 62A, 1692.

3. Besse, Vol 1, p.137.

4. Besse, Vol 1, p.138.

5. Besse, Vol 1, p.138.

abuse, however, does seem to have died out after the initial period, perhaps indicating a greater acceptance of, and toleration for, the Quakers by the general populace once initial suspicion about their motives had been dispelled. Friends' own demeanour must have contributed in no small part to their acceptance by society in general while they were still being persecuted by the authorities.

In the seventeenth century those apprehended on a warrant from a magistrate were commonly lodged, at least overnight, in the House of Correction or some convenient place which could be made secure, until such time as they were brought before a justice. If the accused was then referred to the next sitting of Quarter Sessions he would return to the House of Correction to await trial. Frequently overcrowded to the point of suffocation, the Houses of Correction were just as unpleasant as the gaols and Friends were subjected to the same indignities as convicted prisoners, although technically innocent. The civil authorities in Derbyshire frequently herded large numbers of Friends into these places of confinement in every part of the county; only a few would ultimately be sent to gaol but all would have undergone an extremely unpleasant experience. Mass round-ups, such as those which occurred in 1663 and 1665, however, seem to have been largely abandoned after the latter date for a more selective approach. Opposition to confinement was probably more easily overcome if large numbers were not involved. Gratton indicated the futility of the attempt by John Wilson, priest, and the officers of Monyash parish to break up a large meeting in 1674: 'but when they had us out [of the meeting house], they went to fetch more, and we followed them in again and as some were forced out, others went in again: thus they wearied themselves awhile'¹.

1. Journal, p.65.

The farce of such a situation would not predispose the persecutors to repeat the experience and the gradual change in tactics by the authorities may well have been because they were less able to count on support from the general populace in such manoeuvres.

Imprisonment for longer periods in gaol was inflicted upon those against whom sufficient charges could be mustered. According to available evidence, the Derbyshire authorities no more sent large numbers to gaol than to the House of Correction after 1665. Whereas the Quarterly Meeting record of Sufferings mentions a total of 101 Friends imprisoned between 1660-5, the numbers thereafter drop to two or three a year. Nor, with a few exceptions were they at any time imprisoned for very long. Gratton spent five and a half years in gaol, John Sikes, Ellen Rowbotham and Ellin Fretwell about two years each, the latter dying whilst a prisoner in 1694. Edward Lingard fully expected to perish in prison and made his will there in 1678 although he actually died at liberty three and a half years later¹. Though Derbyshire Friends suffered there is no evidence that they languished in gaol for long periods of time at any date in large numbers.

Once in prison, Friends were frequently treated in a barbaric fashion by resentful gaolers, particularly if they demanded their right to be treated in a different fashion from the common felons. Fox was put 'into the dungeon amongst thirty felons in a lousy, stinking low place in the ground without any bed'² for nearly six months in 1651. Ten years later, conditions were even worse for Ralph Sharpley and William Yardley who 'were inhumanly used by the cruel keeper who put them in a close Hole where they could not stand upright, nor had they Liberty to come out to ease their bodies but were constrained to do it in the Place. Their Books and letters were taken

1. LJRO, Will of Edward Lingard, 1681/2.

2. Journal, p.65.

away and never restored. And when in that strait confinement they were praying to the Lord, the Keeper in a Rage would strike them on the Face and attempt to stop their Mouths; nor were their Friends permitted either to visit or relieve them'¹. Friends were dependent on the attitude of the gaoler who kept them, but Gratton's experiences in the 1680s showed that despite technical incarceration, a certain degree of liberty could be allowed if prisoners were trustworthy (see below).

Relief within prison was sometimes granted by the Monthly Meetings though those in Derbyshire were mostly too poor to do more than assist the dependents of those in custody. In 1677 a small legacy was given to widow Rowbotham to ease her long confinement for a very small matter of tithes, and two years later an undisclosed sum was paid towards the repair of Derby prison where she, Robert Fearne and Henry Hervey were all imprisoned at the time. In 1686 the Quarterly Meeting ordered £1 1s 6d to be paid to John Gratton 'to gratifie the gaoler for his kindnesse to him'². Coming two days after Gratton's release, this was a sympathetic gesture.

Solidarity within the Society about persecution was axiomatic, though Friends were frequently powerless to assist those of their co-religionists who were suffering other than by sympathy and ensuring that their rights were being safe-guarded to the fullest possible extent. Correspondence with Meeting for Sufferings resulted in the transfer of practical advice from those in London who were in a position to check the legality of processes. In 1691 Gratton wrote that a priest had complained about him and others at Nottingham Assizes to the Judge: 'the Judge did soe ill resent what was reported to him as that he should say he would acquaint

1. Besse, Vol 1, p.139.

2. Q 61A, 25.1.1686.

the Queen and Councill of it'¹. Friends in London were desired to make enquiries as to the outcome, particularly amongst the Clerks of the Circuit. Earlier, in 1682 during the particularly harsh period of persecution, they had given advice as how best to counter threats to charge Quaker prisoners with the £20 monthly fine². At a local level accounts of assistance are rarely given, save in Gratton's Journal, but his relief at being excused his debts to Friends when under threat of severe distraint cannot have been the only such instance³.

Despite the seemingly savage distraints and fines levied on Friends it is clear that they received great sympathy from many of 'the world's people', from the highest to the lowest. In a county dominated by the partisan Duke of Devonshire, William Cavendish, and his wife, Friends may not have been in such dire need of support as in other parts of the country. On at least two occasions Gratton was assisted by their intercession⁴, and it seems likely that Cavendish influenced the magistrates, though the attitude of the latter varied according to personal inclination and political pressure.

Justice Bennet has the honour of having coined the term 'Quakers' to describe the followers of George Fox in 1650 because 'we bid them tremble at the word of God'⁵. He, together with Justice Barton, was responsible for imprisoning Fox the same year; both were subsequently members of the Nominated, or Barebones Parliament of 1653 which was noted for its radical views on fanaticism and puritanism. At no point was there a united stand of the county magistracy against Friends, though five persecuting justices were named by Derbyshire Friends in 1659 when returns were made to Parliament⁶.

1. MMS, Vol VII, p.272.

2. " Vol II, p.180.

3. Journal, p.73.

4. " p.77 and LJRO, Dean and Capter Muniments, D30 NN 17.

5. Fox, Journal, p.58.

6. Penney, p.114.

The Quarterly Meeting records of the Sufferings sometimes indicate a determined effort to harass Friends by one particular man, such as John Lowe, JP, active during the 1670s and 80s, but many of the magistrates were only mentioned by name once or twice as persecutors. One, John Spateman, bided his time to harass Friends though he was appointed in 1659 to the Bench. A Presbyterian, he presumably lacked opportunity to exercise his powers for many years, but he eventually combined in an uneasy trio with Joseph Fearne, the priest, and the parish constable to harass Daniel Clarke of Breach Monthly Meeting in 1696. The account of the affair is somewhat disjointed but it seems that when the priest would only bid £2 for the cow which had been distrained the constable went to Spateman who said 'hee might a sould her for 5s and astrained againe till he had beene satisfied blameing him that hee did not take his feirst Chapman'¹, (who offered £2 10s).

Those who persecuted sometimes met with retribution. Fox recited in 1650 that 'the justices said that the plagues were on them .. for keeping me in prison'², and gave even further colour to his subsequent account of the fate of Godfrey Clark, JP. The latter, having been told by Susanna Frith (a stalwart Chesterfield Friend) that if he continued his persecutions of Quakers he would suffer plagues from the Lord 'went home and fell distracted. And they tied him in ropes but he gnawed them to pieces; and he had like to have worried his maid, for he fell upon her and bit her. And they were fain to put an iron instrument into his mouth to wrest his teeth out of her flesh. And so he died distracted in chains..³. The authenticity of this account was later doubted, but the relish with which it was related demonstrates the hatred generated by men such as Clark.

1. Q 62A, 1696.

2. Journal, p.58.

3. " p.509.

By contrast, Sir Henry Every, Robert Ashton, Robert Ayre of Highlow and Edward Begg were all considered favourably by John Gratton who was at pains to emphasize their sympathetic attitude. Ashton was 'a moderate peaceable justice'¹ who, together with Ayre, was unwilling 'to have any hand in the ruining of their neighbours'². Edward Begg of Beauchief 'never concerned himself to disturb us'³. A letter amongst the Muniments of the Dean and Chapter of Lichfield from Every and Simon Degge, another justice, in 1681 to the Archdeacon provides independent evidence of the attempt, albeit unsuccessful, made by the bench to extricate Friends from their entanglement with ecclesiastical law. They wrote that they considered that Gratton had suffered sufficiently in their opinion for his contempt of the ecclesiastical court the previous year, and they joined with 'my Lady Devonshire whose neighbour he was' in requesting his release from prison. A postscript in Every's hand added 'wee rather chuse to receave this kindnesse from you than trouble the Kinge by petition'⁴ - striking evidence of fairmindedness, though there is no way of knowing if Gratton knew of their attempt when he commended the magistrates of Derbyshire in general in 1686 after his eventual release. Writing to Yearly Meeting, he concluded his epistle with the words 'Seeing our Justices are very kind and moderate to us, and have been so for some years I think it not meet to take notice of this ...'⁵ (he referred to an attempt to enforce Church attendance on four Friends). Besse, who gave the text of the letter in the Sufferings, remarked 'It .. shows how tender they [Friends] were of the Reputation of other Men, being very cautious of relating or publishing any Thing to the Disadvantage of the Prosecutors, whensoever they could perceive them anyway inclined to a good temper and

1. Journal, p.65.

2. " p.66.

3. " p.60.

4. LJRO Dean and Chapter Muniments, D 30 NN 17. I am grateful to Jane Isaac of the above for knowledge of this letter.

5. Besse, Vol I, p.144.

moderation',¹.

Gratton had a very clear idea of the direction from which most of the antagonism in Derbyshire came. While explaining the growth in the Monyash Meeting in 1674, he commented 'divers priests up and down the country were angry and very envious and I and others were served with sessions and assize process'². In 1677 he added that the priests were aware of the reluctance of the magistrates to prosecute³. Immediately after the Restoration there had been a degree of co-operation between the two but this had lapsed. Persecution, even by the time of the Second Conventicle Act (1670), was initiated more by a jealous clergy and implemented more by churchwardens and parish constables than by the magistrates and their officers. A letter from Gratton to Meeting for Sufferings in 1683 categorically stated 'Many Friends was served in [to the Assizes] by the constables thro the country, but the 2 justices above named [Every and Degge] have soe ordered it that none was called though they are indicted for 21 days, 21 shillings. Soe Friends are all gone home again ..'⁴. Some of the clergy were vituperative in their comments about the Quakers and many Friends suffered at the hands of John Wilson, vicar of Bakewell, Phineas Mace of Barlborough and John Cooper of Chesterfield. The latter was probably the surrogate in the testamentary court before whom various Friends came as executors, but he also hounded them through other ecclesiastical courts, imprisoning Thomas Brocksopp and Henry Hervey for small tithes and Thomas Burbick for Easter offerings in 1673⁵. Presentation at these courts was a weapon frequently used by the clergy to harass Friends, though the latter seem to have been reluctant to record the number of occasions on which it was used against them. Although

1. Besse, Vol I, p.144.

2. Journal, p.64-5.

3. " p.84.

4. ORS, no. 240, 18.2.1683.

5. Q 62A, 1673.

they were frequently not identified as Quakers a far greater number of these citations appear in the records of the Diocesan Court than in the official Sufferings compiled by the Quarterly Meeting. This is curious, given the frequent attempts by Friends to emphasize, rather than play down, the extent of the persecution. Reflections of national events and the antagonism towards deviants from the Established Church are mirrored in the presentation of 130 Quakers to the Bishop's Court in 1679, 56 in 1680, 132 in 1682 and 61 in 1685. These must be minima since the Diocesan records, though extensive, are by no means comprehensive.

By the 1680s the civil authorities had little influence over their ecclesiastical counterparts, who were in any case encouraged to crack down on dissenters by the Archbishop of Canterbury himself. Every and Degge had no success in their attempt to get Gratton freed in 1681 when they appealed to the Archdeacon, nor did the judge of the Assize Court. Gratton wrote to Meeting for Sufferings to give 'accompt that att the last Assizes att Derby Barron Streete then Judge of the Crown side being acquainted with John Gratton's Imprisonment ordered the Sheriff to lett him have Liberty to go home till he was sent for and the Sheriff promised he should - Butt Anth. Nickolls of Litchfield Register of Bishoppes Cort being JG persecutor so threatened the Sheriff and Goaler to Indict them etc. That now Jo Gratton is kept Close prisoner upon the writt of excommunicato capiendo on which he was first Committed ...'¹. The power of the clergy was, however, clipped after the Toleration Act and those priests who continued to make extortionate demands from Friends probably did so on the basis of personal antagonism. This may have prompted William Penn to write to Gratton in 1694 advising him 'never trouble theyself with priests, let them have our books, take 2 or 3 gross things, confute them and leave the rest'². Families who came in for

1. MMS, Vol II, p.56, 29.6.1681.

2. Add MSS 28,269, f.4.

noticeably harsh treatment were the Lingard family of Chapel-en-le-Frith and the Storrs family of Chesterfield. John Byrom, priest of the former, distrained a number of things in the 1720s which were worth more than the original demand, and Thomas Hawksman of Chesterfield regarded various Friends in that town as thorns in the flesh at about the same time.

It is clear that the higher authorities frequently sheltered behind their minions, these being the churchwardens and parish constables in the case of the clergy. (It is also possible that the magistrates used the priests as their agents in the same way, but it seems unlikely given the available evidence about the magistrates' attitudes). Those put thus into the unenviable position of enforcing the law were usually in no position to challenge the judgment of their superiors, though John Gratton indicates that they were often unwilling to inflict the penalties demanded. The picture he drew in 1675 of the constable who 'staid in the street hanging down his head very sorrowfully' when Gratton was offering no resistance to distraint is followed by a most curious relation of how he had to tell the constable to carry out his duty¹. At the following sessions held before Judge Gilbert of Locka and Sir Henry Every, the latter advised the constable that he had done his duty and could not be blamed for unsold goods. At this 'the constable came home and told me what had passed with great joy, that he came off so finely and that my goods were saved'². Thereafter, the constables several times resorted to Every when faced with the problem of distraining goods from Friends: 'thus this justice stood in the gap, and stopped my goods in favour to me from being sold time after time, by which I was preserved wonderfully from being plundered; and the goods they took out of my house were brought again after the sessions'³.

1. Journal, p.76. cf. A.B. Anderson op. cit. p.255.

2. " p.76-7.

3. " p. 80.

Minor officials, such as these constables and church wardens, were capable of wreaking havoc in the home life of Friends; those with more power, such as gaolers, could make even the remaining vestiges of life a misery. Their brutality to Fox and others has been referred to elsewhere¹, but they were not always as inhuman. Gratton knew that his second gaoler at Derby 'would sometimes seem worse than he really was, for he loved me more than he made a shew of, and the liberty he gave me declared it'². In the same way that Fox had convinced his gaoler, Thomas Sharman³, Gratton had influenced his gaoler's son. In 1684 he took him to London and placed him with George Watts, a Friend, where the boy prospered. The gaoler himself confessed that Gratton had done more than he could have hoped to do for the child. It may have been gratitude, but more likely a benevolent attitude, which caused this man to interpret Gratton's terms of imprisonment leniently.

Besse published no reference to friends, neighbours and relatives who paid the fines for which many Friends were imprisoned. His motive may have been to cover up an aspect of the relationship between Friends and non-Friends which some would have preferred to deny. The Quarterly Meeting record of Sufferings, however, mentions five occasions on which this happened.

Thomas Lynam was freed by a neighbour who paid his £5 fine in 1665 though an exculpatory note was added 'though contrary to his [mind]'⁴. In 1673 Thomas Brocksopp and Henry Hervey were both freed, one by 'one of the world' and the other by his landlord. Ignorance of the means was expressed in both cases⁵. Two years later Joseph Watts 'was sett at liberty through the charity of neighbours who gathered money amongst them and released him'⁶.

1. Journal, p.116-7.

2. " p.97.

3. " p.424. Sharman wrote to Fox twelve years later to remind him of the effect he had had and to profess his belief in the Truth.

4. Q 62A, 1665.

5. " 1673.

6. " 1675.

All three prisoners that year were released as a result of their fines being paid by non-Friends, the payment to the lawyer being quite substantial in two of the cases.

The attitude of those not in authority, either ecclesiastical or civil, towards Friends, was conditioned by external events and by their experience of Friends as relations or neighbours. Early suspicion was engendered by the general fear of sectaries, conventicles and unlawful gatherings. Vague references to 'rude people' die out of the official references by 1665 though Gratton mentioned hostility in 1673 which was amenable to reason.

'.. a company of rude fellows set on to stone us ..' but were dissuaded 'and as we rode out of town some blessed us and seemed very friendly'¹.

By the end of the decade curiosity, possibly tinged with jealousy, was replacing mob antagonism: since Gratton was patently prospering his neighbours, who had awaited his downfall, changed their tune and, albeit mistakenly, attributed his success to payment for preaching². Thereafter the impression gained from reading the Journals of Friends is often one of sympathy by 'the world's people' for their plight, combined with assistance when they were persecuted and, in the eighteenth century, distinct interest in their meetings. It is clear from various sources that Derbyshire was not the only county where neighbours helped out by removing goods from a Friend's house to prevent them being distrained, by offering to pay the tithe demanded, or by simply refusing to buy the goods offered for sale³.

Undoubtedly, Friends received considerable help from those in authority in Derbyshire, from the Cavendish family right down the social scale to the parish constable, in particular from several of the magistrates. The attitude of each was individual and as such cannot be quantified, but Friends were not lacking in allies. The hostility of the Established Church in

1. Journal, p.59.

2. " p.84.

3. Examples from Nottinghamshire include the provision of a certificate by neighbours (1683), MMS Vol III p.89, and an offer by a priest to pay the tithe demanded. (1706) ORS, no. 667.

Derbyshire becomes increasingly clear from the official records up to 1688 though reflection on the number of cases which should have been carried through and were not, on the number of Friends who must have been enabled to avoid the necessity for searing oaths in ecclesiastical courts, and the numerous occasions when tithes could justifiably have been demanded and were not, prompts the suggestion that both Friends and Anglicans were concerned to make the official record one of persecution and brutality, while in fact much peaceful co-existence with the ecclesiastical authorities was practised.

Assessment of the relationship between Friends and the ordinary 'people of the world' as compared to their ties of kinship and religion in adverse circumstances is more difficult without a detailed family history for each Quaker. Although the concept of Quakerism essentially embraced the immediate family of any Friends, other than those of the first conviction, in practice many had relations who married out of the Society or who moved away from the parental neighbourhood and were physically removed from the immediate surroundings. Thus although solidarity within the Society may have been corporately strong when persecutions called for sacrifices from individual members, the latter may nevertheless have had to rely on kindness from their neighbours in times of crisis. This was inevitable in a situation where members of the Society were thinly scattered over a difficult terrain. Friends, in any case, were often powerless to help, either through principle or circumstance. The Quarterly Meeting record of Sufferings mentioned fifteen occasions on which Friends were helped by 'people of the world': six of these were noted as relations, but the inference was that they were not Quakers: the remaining nine were neighbours, equally not Friends. Gratton makes many references to the kindness of his neighbours. Given the comparatively weak position of the Society of Friends within a county like Derbyshire, it seems likely that the religious group did not reinforce the kinship group, and that reliance was greater in times of crisis on neighbours: if that type of reliance was what Friends wanted¹.

1. cf. A. Macfarlane, The Family Life of Ralph Josselin, (CUP, 1970) p.149.

CHAPTER V

DISCIPLINE

The problem of discipline in a society like that of the Quakers was that the code of behaviour was as much intuitive as prescribed. From the outset Friends followed certain habits of conduct which may be ascribed to their strong conviction over the priorities in life. To what extent these had originated with the other sects with which most early Friends had had experience it is hard to say. Nevertheless many of the characteristics of the Society were quickly accepted and furthered, particularly the numerical reference to the days of the week and months of the year, the refusal to pay tithes or to follow 'hat-honour' and the strong conviction that the taking of an oath involved a double standard. The principles concerned were shared by the early leaders and the example they offered turned into a tradition. As Braithwaite remarked, this, together 'with the growth of organization, the acceptance on the authority of the Church of rules of conduct became in many cases a substitute for living principles of truth in the heart'.¹ This was undoubtedly true, but the problem remained for those who transgressed that 'the living principle of truth in the heart' was supposed to guide their lives.

The importance of being outwardly observed to follow a strict code of discipline was also paramount to a society struggling to maintain itself against a hostile Established Church and government. With the latter the problem constantly manifested itself in that even when so-called 'toleration' existed, it was licensed non-conformity rather than freedom.

1. Braithwaite, Vol II, p.498.

Consequently the Society had to be always on guard to prevent any possible criticism of its conduct which would lead to a reduction in its licence.

As a result it was not surprising that Dewsbury, as early as 1653, should recommend the choice of one or two Friends within each meeting who would take care to remonstrate with any who acted contrary to the spirit of the Society.¹ The emphasis initially was on help for members who strayed and in many cases this remained the basis of Friends' conviction over discipline.

A further problem remained for a Society which did not, in its early days, subscribe to the idea of external lists of membership. Many remained attenders throughout their lives without passing through the spiritual conviction which Friends regarded as essential for membership. To 'the people of the world' however there was no obvious difference,² and the dishonour brought upon the Society when such attenders offended caused some embarrassment. Such dissidents could be disowned by the Society if they had ever presented themselves as truly convinced, but they could not be ejected from a Society which did not accept the sectarian ideas of members and outsiders. The logical conclusion to this was that anyone who offended against the Truth could never have been fully and rightly convinced: thus they were not true members of the Society. Equally, because the Society encompassed all who believed in the Truth - and this did not exclude believers from other denominations - it was ultimately the Truth which had been transgressed against and Friends came increasingly to insist that 'the clearance of the Truth' was their prime objective in discipline. Philosophical

1. W. Dewsbury, Collected Works, (London, 1689) p.1-4.

2. cf. L. Hugh Doncaster, Quaker organisation and Business Meetings (London Friends Home Service Committee, 1958), p.15-16.

argument over this matter nevertheless did not prevent the Derbyshire Quarterly Meeting making general declarations to put the whole matter quite straight. In 1682 such a one was issued against those who make a profession of the truth but 'are run into drunkenness and gaming with strife and contention and doing wrong one to another and into throwing at Cocks and going to Cockaynes and into passion heate and angry words'.¹ Fox and other early Quaker leaders wrote advisory epistles which covered matters of conduct as well as organisation.² Those were carefully studied and in many cases copied into the minute books of the Quarterly Meeting; as such they constitute the only written code of conduct in the Society.

The idea that some chosen Friends would regulate the conduct of others was thus accepted in the Society. Depending upon the issue involved Friends often acted in this way, usually in concert with one or more others, to assess both conduct and need. Monthly Meetings and Quarterly Meetings often directed members to investigate alleged breaches of conduct, the results of which were then reported back to the meeting. Some transgressors were hard to pin down or find. Frequently the matter was deferred for several months in the hope that sense would prevail and the person accused would take steps to regulate his or her conduct. If remonstrance failed and the sinner persisted, the final steps towards 'clearing the Truth' were taken, though not without hope that the accused would still repent and issue a paper of self-condemnation. Such papers were intended for public reading and posting, the basic premise being that only by such publicity could the fact that the deed transgressed the Quaker belief in Truth be demonstrated. Humiliation must have

1. Q 61A, 25.1.1682.

2. i.e. G.Fox, A Collection of Many Select and Christian Epistles, Letters and Testimonies, (London, 1698).

played a strong part in such proceedings although the Yearly Meeting of 1673 stated that publicity given to such testimonies should not be greater than the misdeed warranted. Considerable publicity was given when the accused remained impenitent. In really bad cases the Monthly Meeting issued instructions that the testimony, when drawn up, should be read to the accused, and in the Particular Meeting as well as the Monthly Meeting. No further fine or punishment would be exacted as any person so proceeded against was automatically no longer regarded as a Friend.. The importance of the presence of the sinner when the testimony was read out was outlined by the fact that Chesterfield Monthly Meeting felt unable to do more than issue lines against Thomas Routh in 1758 for gameing and drunkenness since he had left the town secretly by night before a testimony could be issued against him.¹

Those who were subsequently contrite could be accepted again amongst Friends if they issued the necessary paper of self-condemnation. This represented an acknowledgement that the sin was contrary to Friends' declaration of the Truth. Previous offenders must have signified in their general pattern of behaviour that they were desirous of being recognized again and each case was carefully scrutinized by those chosen at the Monthly Meeting so to do. Such cases were not infrequent and well known Friends, and in particular their children, were quite often found in this position. Joseph Gratton, son of John, who had moved to Ripley as an innkeeper, was disowned by Breach Monthly Meeting in 1707/8.² He subsequently gave out a paper of self-condemnation and a certificate of acceptance was issued by the Monthly Meeting dated 17.2.1709. Others took longer to be re-instated: Daniel Clark of

1. Q 62E, 19.10.1758.

2. Q 59 11.12.1707/8.

Matlock, earlier a collector for the Society, had a testimony issued against him in 1699. His offence was to have got his servant with child and no further mention of him was made in the Monyash Monthly Meeting minutes until 1720 when Samuel Bunting announced his intention of emigrating and selling his house in Matlock to Daniel Clark.

Friends were not enthusiastic about this plan, though the reasons for their objection were not recorded. Six months later Daniel Clark re-appeared, owned his weakness, submitted to Friends' advice and proposed to remove his present housekeeper as soon as possible. Was she the servant of 1699? Whatever the answer Clark was re-instated in the Meeting and by the end of the year he became one of the trustees for Monyash meeting house, the very house which Friends had been doubtful about him buying in 1720. When he made his will in 1726 he bequeathed £40 to Monyash Monthly Meeting and appointed two well-known Friends as his trustees. This is not a picture of a man grudgingly received back into the fold.

Outward discipline concerned the maintenance of a regulated body which would conform with the principles on which it was founded and thus appear in good order to the outsider. Not only did anti-social behaviour have to be checked: external appearances had to be approved.

Early experience of the more extreme manifestations of Quakerism caused some caution to be introduced into the behaviour of Friends by the end of the seventeenth century. At first however, Friends who were moved to draw attention to themselves by their behaviour or mode of dress were not discouraged. Fox himself frequently behaved in an unorthodox fashion. Motivated by an intensity of belief and interpretation of the Bible early Friends considered that going naked, dressing in sackcloth and ashes or

the performance of miracles was merely a confirmation of the resumption of prophecy promised to them in Revelation 11:3. Derbyshire had its share of extremists of this sort, though they were not natives to the county. Richard Farnworth was moved to perform a healing miracle in Chesterfield in 1652: he wrote to James Naylor '..in darbishire, at a greate market towne called Chesterfield his power was much manifested through mee, amonge some of theire greatest professors: I was at a stand for hearing them and they have a new gathered Church as the call it but there was one of them that lay under the doctors hand of a feaver and I was made Instrumentall by the Lord and she was made well'.¹ Three years later Richard Sale, a constable from Hoole, near Chester described his call to go in sackcloth in Derby to George Fox in the following picturesque way: 'I was made by the command to take a letherne girdle and to binde the sackclouth to my loines, and to take sum sweete flowers in my right hand and sum stinkgeing weeds in my left hand, and ashes strowed upon my head bearefoote and bearlegged which did estonish all that ware out of the life, and those that ware freinds in the towne ware exseedly brooken and brought downe but as I passed thorow the streets the heathens did set there dogs at mee but the Creaturs ware subiectted by the power soe that I had no harme, glorye glorye to God for ever more...'² Gradually Friends ceased to value such extremism so highly: as Dr. Hill points out one of the strengths of the Society was its ability to adapt and 'the Quaker consensus came down on the side of discipline, organization, commonsense.'³ It had its counterpart in the condemnation by later Friends of viewing the misfortunes of the enemies of Quakerism as divine retribution.⁴

1. Swarthmore MSS 1, 372.

2. " MSS IV, 211.

3. C.Hill, The World Turned Upside Down (Penguin, 1975), p.256.

4. See above p.122.

A more common aspect of the importance which Friends attached to discipline was the regularity of intended marriages over which Friends took much trouble. On the announcement of a proposed union two women would be appointed to enquire into the 'clearness for marriage' of the bride and two men likewise for the groom. If there was any cause for doubt Quarterly or Monthly Meeting could - and did - withhold its approval. Two cases considered by the Quarterly Meeting in 1684 aptly illustrate this: Exuperius Browne and Hannah Cowly wished to marry 'but friends have noe unity with it because hee is to forward But by reason of Both there necesitise and conditions upon an outward Account friends have left it to them'. In the other case Joseph Arnold and Ann Higgins applied for the Quarterly Meeting's approval but due to neither party being regarded as fully convinced 'therefore wee disowne it and have noe unity with it but would have them forbear til they have made good proves of their faithfulness to God and come into unity with us And if they will not soe doe wee leave it to themselves and cleare of it; both before God and Men'.¹

Disatisfaction would also be expressed if the parties were found to be too closely related. The Monthly Meetings frowned heavily on the proposal of marriage between first cousins, as had Fox himself, though it was not unusual for permission to be requested. Sometimes the parties achieved matrimony despite investigation, as in the case of Henry Spencer and Elizabeth Williamson in 1739. They were reprimanded by Chesterfield Monthly Meeting but there was little to be done.² Neither were marriages between second cousins countenanced as Cornelius Heathcote discovered when he wrote to Yearly Meeting about the matter

1. Q 61A, 27.1.1684, cf. Epistles, p.281.

2. Q 62C, 20.1.1739.

at the instigation of the Quarterly Meeting in 1726.¹ Breach Monthly Meeting wrote to Elizabeth Peake when she announced her intention of marrying 'her mother's brother' in 1714,² but her letter of repentance two years later indicates a lack of success in prohibiting the marriage.

Exact relationships were frequently not stated, or possibly known. Circumstances such as pre-nuptial pregnancy sometimes caused the Monthly Meeting to agree reluctantly. The start of a long series of difficulties with Joseph Frith, the dyer, of Chesterfield began in 1727 when Friends recorded their disapproval of his use of the common form of marriage certificate since objections to the marriage on the basis of consanguinity had been raised. No mention of his wife's pregnancy was made at that moment but four months later the couple were told that their paper of self-condemnation on the point was unacceptable. They revised it.

The proposal to undertake a second marriage was subjected to similar scrutiny by Friends who were particularly concerned about the provision for any children of the first marriage or marriages. A high degree of mortality amongst parents of children who were still young resulted in a substantial number of one-parent families. When the offspring of a first marriage had been provided for in a will, it was essential that their rights should not be waived by the re-marriage of the remaining parent.³ Monyash Monthly Meeting disapproved of Ann Fisher's proposal to re-marry in 1697 on these grounds, and it was not until the matter had been referred to the Quarterly Meeting that she was allowed to proceed.⁴ Quite a number of wills mention provision for

1. Q 61A, 7.5.1726.

2. Q 59, 14.5.1714.

3. cf. Fox, Epistles, p.281.

4. Q 61A, 1.2.1697.

children, both born and unborn, but Derbyshire Friends must normally have adhered to the wishes of the testator since difficulties over re-marriage are rarely mentioned.

One of the hardest rules for Friends to comply with in the Society was that requiring members to marry within the Society. With a dwindling total membership and the passing of the first generation of Quakers, birthright members found their choice of partner restricted and not always appealing. By far the greatest number of testimonies in Derbyshire were against Friends who married out of the Society. A total of eighty five testimonies were recorded up to 1761, of which thirty six were concerned with marriage. This must constitute a minimal number since the Monthly Meeting records from which most of these were taken only start quite late. It was an aspect of Quaker discipline which did not concern the Society's image to the outside world, except to confirm a reputation for exclusiveness, but which was taken very seriously by Friends. It was also an aspect on which reports were made to the Yearly Meeting and consequently Friends' own concern can be gauged. This was considerable in Derbyshire in 1714, judging by the letter written by the Quarterly Meeting which described 'the Enemy .. making an Inroad on our Young Generation in respect of Marriages running out from Truth and too much of the Reason thereof by Parents unfaithfulness in not seeking Truth so much for their children as for their Worldly Interest...'¹ No family was safe from this threat of its children being tempted away from the Society for this reason and many parents must have suffered considerable anguish at the separation which exclusion from the Society must have entailed. Various members

1. YMM, Vol V, 1714.

of the Tantum family in the south-east part of the county, the Bunting family from Monyash Monthly Meeting and the Bradbury family from Low Leighton 'married by the priest' to name but a few. Occasionally Friends were prepared to receive such erring members back as Edward Searson in 1714;¹ but they had to acknowledge their fault and it must be assumed that the spouse was prepared to consider attending meetings, if not becoming a Friend. Without membership lists it is often impossible to tell, though on rare occasions it is clear from the registers that this happened.

Bastardy and the birth of children who were conceived before marriage was regarded by Friends as unacceptable. The only references to such children are through the disownments or certificates of self-condemnation since their existence was never recorded in the registers, unlike their Anglican counterparts. The rather illiterate entry in the Breach Monthly Meeting minutes on 8.10.1703 recorded a testimony against Job Lacy 'a ropper, for having a childe bage gott';² it was not followed by any reference to the mother who was probably not a Friend. When Hannah Buxton and Daniel Clarke of Monyash Meeting had a testimony read against them for fornication on 3.6.1699 a post-script was added that he ought to pay for the child if it lives.³ Only four cases were recorded amongst the Derbyshire papers up to 1761 which suggests that it was not a common occurrence.

No suggestions concerning the conduct of funerals exist in Derbyshire and few detailed accounts of the organization of burials except one chance survival in a MSS⁴ at the Library of the Society of Friends.

1. Q 59, 10.1.1713/14.

2. Q 59.

3. Q 86.

4. LSF, MSS Box Q 3/9.

Matthew Hopkinson of Shirland, Derbyshire, was clearly concerned about the direction of his own burial - which ultimately took place in 1747 - his coffin, the undertakers and those to be invited. Charity, not ostentation, was the note he was trying to strike. 'First my desire is that every poore boddy that cometh for doall at my bural shall have a penney Lofe or a penny Secondly I desire that Stephen Wooding may make garth cakes so many as may be thout enough for all the people to have a pees ten or twelve ounces in wight. Thirdly I desire that all may have a pees of bread and a draught of could ale, and then a glass of wine, next every one a pees of cake and an other glass of wine, and so conclude Fourthly I desire that my body may be put in a good plain Coffen ... and I desire that my coffin be done over with Linseed-oyle and not blacked and no brass nails...'

Outward conformity in dress and living standards quickly came to be regarded as characteristic of Friends. The emphasis was on simplicity according to the station of the individual in its origin, but tradition took the place of inner conviction as a guide to practice. By the mid-eighteenth century no Quaker would tolerate additions to his dress which smacked of frippery, though standards still varied at the end of the seventeenth century. Aware of the importance of their behaviour Derbyshire Quarterly Meeting reported to the Yearly Meeting in 1701 that their children were 'educated in the way of truth and plainness of Habit and Speech'.¹ It is hard to tell from her letters whether Lady Martha Rodes was acting in accordance with a Quaker conscience over her outward estate or if she was merely growing older and was less eager for show. She was concerned to dress in a sober fashion

1. YMM Vol II, 1701; cf. Fox, Epistles, p.289.

herself, though prepared to encourage her son to be well dressed. In June 1690 she wrote to him: 'I desire thee to tell S. Barker I would have him to by me A silk dust Coat to ride in, for I find Camlút is so thick for this hot wether, I cannot well indure it. I wod have it A Grave Colour; it is a slight kind of silk and will not cost much..' She must have enclosed a sample as a postscript added 'I would have my Coat partly of this Colour but rather sader'.¹ The following year she encouraged her son in his purchases "I desire thee to gitt a hansome stuf sute and A good wastcote. Thou knows I did not like the last stuf sute, therefore remember and let it be not like that but something more refined and finer... As for me its littel matter what I wear'.² In 1693 she referred to his camlet coat and silk waistcoat and in 1694 detailed instructions were dispatched to London concerning her wishes over a coach.³ Lady Martha's portrait in the same volume shows her in an elegant riding dress, though she appears then to be a young woman and it may have been painted before she became a Friend. Perhaps she did not feel the same need to demonstrate her faith to the outside world as John Gratton who, in 1671, suddenly found the addition of a laced band on his collar embarrassing in the midst of other Friends '...at this I was smitten and sorry, for until then I had not minded it since my convincement; besides friends in those days shewed no appearance of pride in their apparel..or anything else from a sense of which I took it off and wore it no more: neither did my dear wife ever offer to put it on again, but when she understood I was troubled for wearing lace, she took it off all the rest of my bands, although she was not then convinced of the truth..⁴

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1. Locker Lampson, p.17.
 2. " p.25.
 3. " p.36.
 4. Journal, p.45.

Restrictions over those things which were regarded as unnecessary luxuries can often only be deduced from directives from Yearly Meeting or by careful scrutiny of surviving inventories. The latter probably do not give a fair sample of the comparative living standards of all Derbyshire Friends since neither wills nor inventories were always made. The latter can also be misleading about absolute wealth since real estate was not included and items mentioned in wills were often excluded. Bearing these drawbacks in mind however it is still possible to pick out some items which, while not commonly found, nevertheless appeared amongst the possessions of more than one Friend. These include silver cups and tankards, silver spoons, watches, clocks, tables covered with carpets, glass cases, a pewter and delft shelf with twenty pewter plates, and beds with furniture worth up to £7.10s. While these did not constitute lavish living, they at least indicate that Derbyshire Friends did not purge their households of items which were not purely functional.¹

Perhaps more surprising was the the presence of one or more guns in three households, a sword in another and a virginal in yet another. The latter might have taken some explaining away by the owner: Friends regarded education in, and the practise of, music as unnecessary. Thomas Clarkson at the very beginning of the nineteenth century wrote 'The Quakers, therefore, seeing no moral utility in music cannot make it a part of their education'.² Instrumentalists were not encouraged.

Little evidence on clothing is offered in the inventories since the first item mentioned is almost invariably the testator's purse and apparel without further specification. The estimated value of these could be anything between £1 and £25, but without distinguishing separate items.

1. cf. Irish Friends - Braithwaite, Vol II, p.507.

2. Thomas Clarkson, A Portraiture of Quakerism, (London, 1806), Vol I, p.49.

Friends objected on principle to swearing oaths from the very beginning of their history. Swearing, it was argued, involved a double standard of ethics with which Friends did not agree. Within their own Society this was unimportant since all were on an equal basis and swearing was unnecessary. When Friends came into contact with external authority however, the issue was one which caused considerable trouble. Until the Affirmation Act of 1697 Friends were dependent on the indulgence of the individual court, whether ecclesiastical or civil, if they were to avoid swearing.¹

Given this firm stand by Friends, reaction by the ecclesiastical or civil authorities might be expected; conversely Friends who wavered in their testimony could expect to be castigated by the Society. Yet very little evidence of either for Derbyshire is forthcoming.

One of the most puzzling aspects of Friends' determination about oaths concerns the execution of wills. Over this matter the ecclesiastical authorities must have had a regular relationship with Friends since the Anglican monopoly of procedures concerned with death affected everyone, of whatever denomination. A will which was taken to the testamentary court for a grant of probate had to be confirmed on oath, yet little work seems to have been done on how Friends either got round this dilemma or accepted the necessity for swearing. It is quite clear that there were no large scale prosecutions for refusal to comply with the accepted procedure. Odd references indicate that it was a problem, but the Quaker records have no list of those disowned for swearing in these circumstances. In Berkshire an effort was made to

1. cf. Vann, p.141 for a case of a Friend who was allowed to testify without taking an oath.

get a will proved without an oath in the Bishop's Court in 1682 'that if possible it may be some entrance for a precedent',¹ and in Nottinghamshire Bore Ellison was reprimanded for taking an oath as executor in 1673.² Apart from displaying penitence, his solution was to write to Alderman Greave about the matter which perhaps indicates that there were solutions to the problem which are unrecorded. Only twelve Quaker wills for Derbyshire survive for the period prior to the Affirmation Act - not every one made a will at this date - but it seems to be worth investigating how the appointed executors dealt with the problem of taking the oath in the testamentary court.

In four cases such executors were probably not Friends, though all were close relatives of the testators, being sons or nephews. The second generation of Friends was noticeably more inclined to move away from the Society and might have an advantage if they could accept the authority of the ecclesiastical court. This might well be a solution adopted by a number of Friends to avoid the otherwise inevitable conflict of conscience over taking an oath. It is also clear that, either through circumstance or choice, Friends sometimes used a substitute to swear for them. The normal procedure of the Church was to appoint a deputy to attend the testamentary court if the executor was too old or infirm to attend in person. This substitute was frequently the vicar or curate of the parish and in three Quaker cases in Derbyshire when the widow was left as executrix of a Friend's will this procedure was adopted. If Friends were prepared to submit to this system and the Anglicans were prepared to act for them in this way, is it surprising that there is no record of prosecution for failure to follow the normal

1. Quoted by A. Lloyd, Quaker Social History, (Longmans, 1950), p.81.

2. Q 55A, 29.10.1673.

rules? The distinguishing clause in these wills comes at the end of the probate when, in place of the normal entry 'Iurat coram me...' followed by the name of the surrogate, the entry reads 'Commissio [name of cleric] clerico'. None of the wills examined after 1697 follow this device, though it seems likely that there were as many aged or infirm widows after the Affirmation Act as before. Of the remaining wills, one executrix renounced her administration in favour of someone who was not a Friend, perhaps another device for getting round the rules, and four are recorded as having sworn. Of the latter, three were after 1689 when the possibility of an Affirmation Act of some description must have seemed fairly inevitable.

Did the clergy connive at the affirmation, having observed that Quakers were permitted to affirm the Declaration of Allegiance? They may not have done in every diocese but the lack of prosecuting evidence from the Derbyshire division of the Lichfield diocese suggests that it is possible. Lack of Anglican action over this matter may also have been due to the hiatus in episcopal affairs following the suspension of Bishop Wood. All activity was at a very low ebb during his episcopacy (1671-1692) and even while he was Dean of Lichfield, prior to his ordination as Bishop, his predecessor, Bishop Hackett, complained 'the Puritans mightily resort to him, whose patron he is upon all occasions'.¹

After the Affirmation Act the majority of executors affirmed (33) but the fact that 21 swore illustrates the fact that Friends did not rely exclusively on their co-religionists for this last service. In some cases, where there was more than one executor, the non-Quaker swore and the administration was reserved for the other executor, usually a

1. Tanner MSS 131, f.22, Bodleian Library.

Friend, until he or she attended court. However, this may well have been less a matter of principle than chance, since the compelling need to avoid taking an oath had gone.

Further evidence that Friends went to some length to avoid being put in the position of enforced swearing can be deduced from the lack of disciplinary action taken on this matter by Friends themselves. The loss of records may be part of the reason, but amongst such records as do remain only one Derbyshire Friend was reprimanded for taking an oath in a testamentary court - and that under strained circumstances. No will survives for Anthony Woodward jr. who died in 1682 but his wife Dorothy and her mother-in-law Ann, the executrix, clearly had a family row about the whole matter. Ann gave a certificate of self-condemnation to Peasonburst Monthly Meeting in 1682 for having been forced to take an oath at Chesterfield as executrix, as did Dorothy for angry words spoken to her mother and father-in-law at the same time.¹ The Woodward family had a tendency to flout the disciplinary code of the Society and a testimony was issued against Ann for swearing in 1686,² either referring back to the 1682 episode or to a subsequent lapse.

Did other counties have similar experiences? Without detailed studies of wills it is hard to be sure but the presence of a directive to Robert Vaughan by Meeting for Sufferings in 1686,³ requesting him to 'bring in a short instruction how to make wills safely among Friends for the probate and execution thereof', suggests that up to this date Friends had had some means of circumventing the problem which, for some

1. Q 86, 25.3.1682.

2. " 22.4.1686.

3. MMS Vol III, p.283, 19.9.1686.

unstated reason, was now denied them. The following month the Meeting considered a form of clause to be inserted in a will 'to Constitute Executors or Administrators'. Objections were made against the practical part, it 'being not so safe for the Testator' since the estate was put in the power of a stranger.¹ Derbyshire Friends would appear to have met this problem already and to have entrusted their responsibilities to the Anglican clergy. That they were prepared to do so argues a considerable faith in the intentions of the substitutes, but Meeting for Sufferings was equally aware of the possibility of abuse.

References to oaths taken before justices are rare. After the Affirmation Act, Friends should not have been compelled to swear in civil cases, though they still retained the old disabilities in criminal cases. This may have been the reason for the reprimand received by Caleb Loe in 1745 who acknowledged that he had taken an oath merely from weakness and fear.² Civil authorities were also involved in the matter of burial in woollen and in this matter, Friends appear to have continued to circumvent the necessity to swear into the eighteenth century. Following the second Burial in Woollen Act of 1678 an affidavit had to be sworn within eight days of the funeral that the regulations had been complied with. Six Weeks Meeting agreed the same year 'that Compliance therewith as to burying in wollen is a civill matter and fit to be done - and to procureing the makeing oath thereof they meddle not therewith but leave it to Friends freedome in the Truth and this to be sent to each Monthly meeting!'.³ In 1679 the matter was causing some concern in Oxford where Elizabeth Steward presented a paper 'concerning a

1. MMS Vol III, p.292, 3.10.1686.

2. Q 62C, 18.5.1745.

3. Six Weeks Meeting Minutes, 1678.

vision which she saw concerning Friends that they should not suffer any oath to be taken concerning the burying of the dead'.¹ No evidence on this is forthcoming for Derbyshire from the records of the Society: and only a few of the parishes kept registers of burials in woolen as accurately as they should. In Nottinghamshire however there is an interesting reference to Friends using an Anglican woman to swear for them that a Quaker burial had followed the prescribed rules in 1728. William Thompson, clerk of the Nottinghamshire Quarterly Meeting, asked the advice of the Meeting for Sufferings over the matter. The deceased Friend was poor and had been buried at the charge of the Society.

'The Affidavit was sworn by a Churchwoman, a Neighbour to the Deceased and was sent to the Parish where the friend was Buried who refused to take the Affidavit and when the eight days were over past, sent the Certificate to the Churchwardens, constrained them to Inform a neighbouring Justice who issued out his warrant to levy the penalty on a friends Goods in the Town who was no further concerned then he to See the poor Man have decent Burial accordingly Distress was made and all the parson had to alledge was that the Affidavit was not according to the Act haveing onely one deponent whereas the Act requires two'.² Because the arrangement had gone wrong it caused trouble and the Nottinghamshire Friends were therefore liable to prosecution. After due consideration Meeting for Sufferings concluded that there was no way of fighting the case.³ Since such arrangements only came to light in adverse circumstances it is hard to assess how frequently they were made. It is possible that they were commonly undertaken, but for that very reason went unrecorded.

1. Quoted by A. Lloyd, Quaker Social History, (Longmans, 1950), p.81.

2. MMS Vol 24, p.277.

3. MMS Vol 24, p.282.

The Toleration Act of 1689 made specific provision for Quakers to subscribe the Declaration against Transubstantiation and the Declaration of Allegiance and Supremacy. Thirty nine Friends from Derbyshire accordingly did so and were noted in the Sessions Order book. This is an incomplete return (see p.29) but the essential point is that Friends there were prepared to submit to civil authority when provision was made for affirmation. Not that they were uninterested in securing the best terms possible over affirmation - but they were prepared to accept a situation which made co-existence with their Anglican neighbours easier.

Civil office was denied to Friends through the same disability. In other parts of the country there are instances of exceptions being made but it was sufficiently unusual for Fox to remark on the fact that Thomas Hammersley of Basford, near Leek, Staffordshire 'served as foreman of a jury without swearing' in 1655.¹ Hammersley did not come from Derbyshire but he married Anna Broadhead from the Chesterfield area and was probably quite influential amongst Friends on the western side of the county where there was little contact with the centre of Derbyshire Quakerism. The reported comment of the judge on that occasion was that he had never heard such an upright verdict as that brought in by Hammersley: itself a striking testimony to his character.

Debt, being a matter which could involve 'the world's people' as well as Friends, was one of the sins regarded most censoriously by the Society. In the Epistles Fox specifically mentioned those who 'run into Debt and so bring a scandal upon the truth',² and the advice given in the Book of Extracts over this matter was clear. '1675 Advised that

1. Journal, p.182.

2. Epistles, p.276.

none trade beyond their ability, nor stretch beyond their compass; and that they may use few words in dealing, and keep their words in all things, lest they bring, through their forwardness dishonour to the precious Truth of God'. 'Hazarrdous enterprises' were to be avoided but though Friends were firm on this point they were also sympathetic. Help was frequently given to those who appeared to be in financial difficulty, either in the form of advice or as a loan. Debt due to bereavement was recognised as misfortune in the case of widow Gayling of Chesterfield Monthly Meeting in 1720.¹ Her husband's effects were sold to defray his debts but Friends were deputed to buy in such necessities as she could not do without, at public expense. These items came to £2.4s.6d and were subsequently counted as Friends' property. As a consequence of actions such as this relatively few instances occur of Friends being disowned for debt, and they are often coupled with disownments for drunkenness or disorderly goings-on. Joseph Gratton was one such in 1707/8² and Luke Hank of Sawley in 1706 failed to keep his word in business, 'which hath occashoned the law to take hould of him'.³ Even on occasions when the presumption must be that the Society had washed its hands of the situation Friends were willing to proffer advice. John Horsley of Breach Monthly Meeting was spoken to in 1730 'concerning his lying in the Goale and not paying his Depts'.⁴

Only four disownments for debt are recorded among the records for Derbyshire Friends, a low total which must reflect the care taken by members when rumour reached them that someone was in financial straits. It must also have been influenced by the fact that most Friends were involved in agriculture and had little scope for risky business enterprises.

1. Q 62B, 21.2.1720.
 2. Q 59, 11.12.1707/8.
 3. " 11.7.1706.
 4. " 13.3.1730.

Excess in anything was frowned upon by Friends, and drunkenness no less than any other offence. On nine occasions Derbyshire Friends had testimonies recorded against them, usually after repeated warnings, and frequently in conjunction with other offences. Despite his ingenious excuse reported to the Quarterly Meeting in 1675, Bartholomew Mastin was required to produce a certificate of self-condemnation. He alleged 'that the drinke that hee then drunke was occasioned by toyleing too and in the Markett with sacks and after he came forth into the wind hee was overcome by it and by meanes thereof fell asleep upon the roade'.¹ The consumption of moderate amounts of alcoholic drink was regarded as natural and the accounts of the Meetings frequently refer to provision made to refresh travelling ministers. Funerals were another occasion for such provision, though not always on the same lavish scale as that offered at the funeral of Philip Swale in Yorkshire in 1687.² At Matthew Hopkinson's funeral (1747) he expected every guest to be offered two glasses of wine and a draught of 'could ale'.³ Since forty five guests were to be invited and an unspecified number of grandchildren, the total consumed was probably quite high. Quaker inn-keepers were not uncommon, Joseph Gratton of Ripley was one, and provided the habit of drinking was not indulged in to excess Friends had no occasion to be censorious. Perhaps this feeling was behind the entry in the Chesterfield Monthly Meeting book in 1719/20 when Thomas Ward of Chesterfield was asked to reform from his previously scandalous conduct of 'lying at Alehouses unseasonably'.⁴ [my emphasis].

Friends maintained a strong opposition to the payment of tithes throughout the period, alleging that the maintenance of a ministry should be voluntary and not merely confined to the Church of England. There are no records

1. Q 61A, 25.1.1675.

2. N.Yorks.CRO, R/Q/R/10/65-69.

3. LSF, MSS Box Q 3/9.

4. Q 62B, 18.12.1719/20.

of Friends from Derbyshire being disowned because they gave way to parochial pressure and paid their tithes, though individuals and particular meetings were frequently exhorted to faithfulness in this respect.

In 1677 33 members of the Quarterly Meeting signed testimonies and declarations against tithe payments which were copied into the back of the Quarterly Meeting book. These may have been signed at a preparative or separate meeting since the Quarterly Meeting suggested three days later that all Friends who were concerned about the payment of tithes and church dues should meet at Edward Booth's house. Whether such a wave of enthusiasm generated the next public Meeting on tithes twenty years later (1697) it is impossible to ascertain but by that time the one Monthly Meeting which gave consistent cause for concern over tithes (Breach) had already been visited by Joshua Arnold, Joseph Frith and Thomas Farnworth to express the disquiet felt by Friends.¹ 'Lame accounts' to the Quarterly Meeting were frequent and exhortations for improvement almost an annual entry at some periods. Joseph Gratton of this Meeting wrote to the Quarterly Meeting in 1708 to excuse his previous conduct. He alleged that he had paid the priest the first time because he had understood a message from Francis Tatum and Thomas Whitby to mean that he might as well carry on paying tithes if he was already doing so. Now however the priest was threatening him with prison and though he thought it hard to have to work merely to have all his gain taken away he was prepared to suffer for it.² The reply sent by Gilbert Heathcote indicated that although Friends were pleased to receive him back they were not yet prepared to accept his sufferings. Thereafter sporadic attempts were made to generate

1. Q 61A, 25.4.1696.

2. Q 61A, 11.10.1759.

compliance amongst Friends over a habit which caused strict Friends much anguish. A letter from fourteen signatories was sent from the Quarterly Meeting to Breach in 1715: enquiries were instituted (1731, 1737, 1745, 1752, 1754) and continuous efforts were made to induce members of all the Monthly Meetings, but particularly those from Breach, to act more strictly in accordance with Quaker principles.

The replies given to the first of these enquiries in 1731 indicate that most Friends in Derbyshire were side-stepping the issue, more or less blatantly according to circumstance. At Chesterfield none paid directly but by stoppages, or by warrant from the Justice. Similarly at Monyash none paid directly, but some were imposed upon by having steeple house rates levied with others. Breach Monthly Meeting found it easier to send so short an answer to the extensive enquiries about tithes that it stirred up suspicion about their testimony. By this date the demands made by the tithe farmers and impropiators were often recorded in the Quarterly Meeting record of Sufferings as being no more than was statutory: if no outrageous demands were being levied then Friends may well have found a little laxity in discipline a preferable way of life. General concern was constantly expressed among Friends over the power the clergy still possessed by 1736 of taking their cases to the Exchequer or Ecclesiastical court. Derbyshire Quarterly Meeting discussed the matter in 1737 together with the possibility of presenting a petition to Parliament. Since, however, they were not directly affected, they provided only written support. No Friend had sufficient time to go to London to join the national discussions.

The situation at Breach Monthly Meeting had become so acute in the late 1750s that the two Friends who visited it in 1759 reported that there

was difficulty in obtaining a clerk who was free from tithes.¹ The only possible explanation for this persistent failure from this area seems to be that perhaps the clergy in the Derby deanery were more importunate than their fellows in other parts of the county and that Friends were potentially vulnerable farmers. Nevertheless the Quarterly Meeting never took any action other than exhortatory. Perhaps the danger of losing yet more adherents was worse than the payment of tithes.

Doctrinal dissent within the Society was a matter which Friends, not unnaturally, preferred to deal with as privately as possible, sometimes to such an extent that only oblique references were made to trouble. Answers to the state of Truth's Prosperity returned annually to the Yearly Meeting in London sometimes add information otherwise lacking in the minutes of the Monthly or Quarterly Meetings.

There were no local separatists ^{when the Wilkinson-Sting controversy divided the movement} to cause alarm in 1688 but by 1694 there was sympathy for the position, though not views, of George Keith. Keith had gone to Pennsylvania in 1689 and had encountered opposition to his rather extreme views on visible membership of the society and the doctrine preached by Friends in the colony. He returned to England in 1694 but was eventually disowned in 1697, having failed to accept the compromise offered to him by Yearly Meeting in 1694. The report from Derbyshire to Yearly Meeting that year stated 'Friends there have been for much tenderness to be used to our friend G. Keith by uttering such things that cannot be stood by and are to be judged.'²

The first threat to unity from within the county seems to have come from

1. Q 61A, 11.10.1759.
2. YMM, Vol II, 1694.

Richard Clayton about 1704, though the origins are obscure and the details fragmented. Clayton, a quarrelsome man, attracted some dissident followers though it seems unlikely that they can really have constituted a 'Society' as Friends reported. It was this 'Society' which was referred to in a heavily scorred out minute from Chesterfield Monthly Meeting: 'whereas Richard Clayton had been an opposer of Friends and not submitting to them and their brotherly admonitions and judgements but has published papers offering public debate such as not of our Communion which this meeting [adjudges] is out of Truth and cannot esteem him as a Brother or as of our Community while he undertakes such things.'¹ The meeting normally kept at Normanton at Richard Clayton's house was transferred to Tupton and four months later a meeting of trustees and others was announced by Joseph Storrs and Richard Morrice. It may be significant that it was to be held at Mansfield - outside the county - and was for the purpose of considering the question of Clayton. No further reference occurs in the Monthly Meeting minutes except an admission in 1705 by Margaret Tornor that she had erred in joining his 'Society'. At this point the lack of draft minutes or notes on meetings is regrettable as the subsequent references to the matter are disordered. A preparative meeting was held in Chesterfield, prior to the Quarterly Meeting, on 26.4.1707² which recorded agreement with the decisions of Friends appointed three weeks earlier at Yearly Meeting. All papers concerning the dispute should be handed over to Richard Marriott and John Swan, both of Mansfield, all records in the Monthly and Quarterly Meeting books of the matter should be obliterated and the Meeting should be restored to Normanton. This may have been decided verbally but not entered at the time since three months later its entry was recorded following a letter from the Friends appointed by the Yearly Meeting.

1. Q 62B, 21.12.1704.

2. Q 61A.

They comprised George Whitehead, Thomas Camm, Theodore Ecclestone, James Dickinson, Thomas Green, Peter Fearon, Joshua Middleton, William Fallowfield, Nathaniel Marks and Thomas Lower. No specific reason for their appointment was given in Yearly Meeting, merely that they were to consider a matter which was troubling Friends. Their combined authority came down heavily on the Quarterly Meeting and Chesterfield Monthly Meeting. They understood that conclusions made by Friends to whom the whole matter had been referred on 31.8.1704 (which were that mutual forgiveness should be undertaken) should have been more binding. Secondly, in their opinion, the paper approved and signed by many members at last Derbyshire Quarterly Meeting and Breach Monthly Meeting should not have been covenanted, it not being the best way to end the dispute. Thirdly, they recommended that mutual forgiving and forgetting should be undertaken, though it was recognized to be hard on account of the length of the dispute. Fourthly, no papers 'containing charges, accusations, reflections or agravations against one another' were to remain in the hands of the parties concerned but were to be given to John Alsopp of Engstree [Allestree?], Richard Marriott and John Swan of Mansfield. Finally, everyone concerned was to wait quietly upon the Lord and avoid anything that would tend to the renewal of the dispute. Six Nottinghamshire Friends and one from Staffordshire were ordered to assist in ending the difference. No record of this appears amongst the minutes of Nottingham Quarterly Meeting or Chesterfield Monthly Meeting, and it can only be assumed that the measures recommended were put into practice. The entries were heavily scored out, though not so that it is impossible to read them, and Richard Clayton appears to have been a member of the Society when he died in 1714 and left twenty shillings

to its poor.¹

Other elements of dissent have even less detail appended to them. A spirit of division was noted in the answers to Truth's Prosperity in 1712,² possibly connected with the dissatisfaction expressed at Chesterfield over unspecified occurrences at Tupton Monthly Meeting.³ The following year an enigmatic report to Yearly Meeting stated that there were still 'two seeds stirring not onely in particular but in General'. Was one of the seeds 'that libertain Spirit which hath been very hurtful to us' as reported in 1715, or 'the opposite spirit gote up amongst us which much hinders the Disciplinal part' of 1717? Two years later differences were apparently subsiding, but Thomas Kirk of Monyash Monthly Meeting caused some concern in 1722-3.⁴ He was spoken to for sleeping - presumably metaphorically - and preaching on two occasions, but it remained a local matter, not worthy of mention to Yearly Meeting. Losses in membership from deviationists were hinted at in the answer to Truth's Prosperity for 1725, but thereafter such reduction in numbers is not ascribed to any one particular cause. Only one false preacher was mentioned by name, being Dorothy Bowers who was requested by Chesterfield Monthly Meeting to desist from appearing at the Particular Meeting as a Minister in a confused manner.⁵

Despite the proximity of the meetings on the west side of Nottinghamshire the serious disruptions caused by Joshua Parr in 1731 in Nottingham and Mansfield⁶ had no noted repercussions in Derbyshire. Nor is there any reference to the Friends who got involved with the Muggletonians. John

1. LJRO Will of Richard Clayton, 1714.

2. YMM, Vol IV, 1712.

3. Q 62B, 21.6.1713.

4. Q 86, 13.4.1723.

5. Q 62C, 16.4.1743.

6. Thomas Story, Journal 29-30.6.1731 and Q55A, 28.4.1731.

Gratton had read, and initially had been attracted by Muggleton's works before he turned to Friends. This earned him a scornful letter from Muggleton himself¹ who also corresponded with other Derbyshire Quakers who opposed him.² The records of the Society, however, are silent about him.

Discipline within the Society included the settlement of disputes by means of Friends' intercession, thus avoiding, if at all possible, recourse to the ultimate authority of the civil law. If arguments were between Friends this was usually achieved: if a non-Friend was involved the matter became more difficult. Since any form of argument could be regarded as portraying the Society in a bad light, let alone being contrary to the Truth, records of such discord were frequently crossed out in the minutes, particularly when the offenders had repented. Trouble between members of the Clayton family and various other people occurred at several times in 1704 but subsequently (1714) most Friends seem to have decided that the records should be expunged. Their reasons were slightly obscure, but it was at least partly because if left untouched they would record a false accusation against Joseph Storrs. The extent of the disagreement about deleting the record at the time was itself recorded: Richard Morris and Samuel Ashton were supposed to undertake it but the former was unwilling 'to be conserved for some reasons known to himself'.³

When family arguments became too public Friends did their best to arbitrate before the matter escalated. At Breach Monthly Meeting Richard Smith, his son Thomas and his daughter-in-law Jane were requested in 1700 to attend the next meeting on account of a quarrel between them.⁴ The following year Richard Farnsworth and his family were directed to agree

1. Journal, p.23.

2. A. Delamaine, ed., Spiritual Epistles of John Reeve and Ludovic Muggleton (London, 1820).

3. Q 62B, 21.10.1704.

4. Q 59, 13.9.1700.

better or bring their problem to the next meeting.¹ Perhaps the threat contained therein was enough to settle both these quarrels; neither was referred to again. Daniel Dickinson of Monyash Meeting exercised considerable restraint in an argument with his mother-in-law Anne Bentley, though Friends had tried to reconcile them. 'Reason would not take place with the widow' and Daniel was left free to take the matter to court if it could not be decided. Prudence may have kept him from this final act and two years later he requested Friends' help again as he desired to meet his mother-in-law. It was suggested that two or three Friends should decide the matter and since there was no further minute of the matter it was presumably settled eventually.² Another such family quarrel was of such magnitude that the clerk of the Nottingham Monthly Meeting, William Thompson, was called in to arbitrate.³

Efforts were always made to prevent disputes going to court and the permission of the Monthly Meeting had to be sought before resorting to law. Henry Williamson of Chesterfield was reprimanded in 1725 for suing John Mellor without informing Friends. In 1714 however, the same Monthly Meeting, Chesterfield, granted Joseph Loe permission to sue John Gayling, the latter 'being unpersuaded' to pay his debts. Arguments over property could develop into law suits and when the tenant of Wessington Meeting House refused to leave despite legal notice she was bound over to Quarter Sessions.⁴

Some families seem to have been pre-destined as trouble-makers who often had to rely on the Society for final assistance. Perhaps they contained forceful, argumentative, members who put all their efforts into discord, but their names crop up with regularity. Despite the rather scanty

1. Q 59, 13.6.1701.

2. Q 86, 8.5.1714; 6.10.1716.

3. Q 59, 8.8.1712.

4. Q 620, 19.7.1751.

evidence from Low Leighton meeting, James Ridgeway appears twice as a trouble-maker: at Monyash Edmund James was involved between 1692 and 1714 five times in disputes sufficiently serious for Friends to take action. His two brothers, Francis and Jonathan, and his sister Anne (later Bentley) were also frequently parties to, or participants in, the disputes. At Chesterfield the Clayton family surpassed themselves in the early years of the eighteenth century and became involved in what appears to be a series of quarrels with the Gratton family of Monyash. Which members of the latter family reciprocated is not always clear but Joseph Gratton was involved in other quarrels at both Breach and Monyash Monthly Meetings and was included in those at Chesterfield. The fact that these disputes took place, and often between Friends who remained members of the Society, argues a certain acceptance of the inevitability of discord, particularly when the Society imposed constraints on its adherents to which non-members were not subject. Their success at settlement is hard to gauge, but few had to resort to the law for redress and frequently silence about the outcome must indicate that no further action was necessary and agreement had been reached.

CHAPTER VI

POOR RELIEF

Concern for the welfare of the poorer members of the Society of Friends was manifest from its very beginning. Fairly regular collections for the poor were made in most of the Monthly Meetings though as the eighteenth century proceeded there were increasingly frequent reports of the smaller meetings failing to meet their obligations to the poor due to lack of contributions. The Quarterly Meeting minutes note the numerous occasions on which the Monthly Meetings were 'out of stock' and requesting assistance. The collections were either brought to the Monthly Meetings or handed to whoever had the responsibility to remind Friends of their obligations.

The only Monthly Meeting to give any detailed account of these collections was Breach. Particular care was taken with all their accounts though those of the collections are difficult to interpret as after 1718 they are not dated, nor do they appear to tally with the sums noted as the total collections for each month. Their greatest use is to provide a record of who was regularly contributing to the funds, rather than the actual amounts which are suspiciously uniform in the case of some. 42 Friends of this meeting in all gave something towards the collection in 1700, the amounts varying between 10s from William Cooke and 3d from a John Cooke. Of the original 42, 9 were still contributing regularly twenty five years later out of a total then of 19 donors, though the complexity of working out which account belongs to which year has become increasingly difficult. Individual amounts per annum rarely rose above 5s, with an average figure of 2s-3s. Although the poorest members made occasional contributions the meetings' funds were kept afloat by the regular donations

made by those whose names are frequently mentioned as doing business for the Society or assisting in its organization.

Other monthly meetings were much less assiduous in recording their accounts, merely noting the total collection for the month and the amount in stock - or out of stock. Comments such as that made on behalf of Monyash Monthly Meeting to the Quarterly Meeting in 1697 by John Gratton were frequent: he noted the increase in 'pore friends and those that are capeable to give some releife to them are but few'.¹ This formed part of a series of complaints between 1696 - 9 concerning the needs of the meeting and the inability of members to provide sufficient relief.

None of the meetings made any division in their monthly collections for specific purposes, though particular collections were made for the purpose of relief from time to time. These were usually for extraordinary cases of need resulting from fire or loss of stock, from the effect of the 1745 rebellion, or for apprenticeships when the resources of the Ashover charity were not being used. They were as frequently for those outside the Derbyshire area as for those within the compass of the Quarterly Meeting. By far the largest charitable donation made by the Derbyshire Friends for any purpose was £108.10s sent, in 1692, to Irish Friends who had suffered in the war of 1689-91.² By comparison collections for individuals rarely exceeded £10 and those captured in Algeria in 1684 only received £5.12.0.

1. Q 61A, 31.1.1697/8.

2. YM National Stock Accounts, Vol I, f.33r. This is a quite disproportionate sum for Derbyshire to have contributed. There seems no logical explanation, other than extreme generosity, for a sum which was only exceeded by five other Quarterly Meetings including London.

Collections for demands by brief appear to have been made regularly at meeting. These requests were made by the Crown, the Chancellor or the Church and could be for any type of calamity anywhere in the country. Read out at the parish church, or meeting, contributions were expected, though the whole process became increasingly self-defeating as costs of issuing briefs almost outran the income gained. Breach Monthly Meeting apparently had a Brief book¹ still extant at the beginning of this century which is now no longer amongst their papers. Extracts taken from it show small but consistent amounts being donated for briefs. The demands are also given and run into thousands of pounds, varying between £5,984 for Spilsby on 8 June 1707 to £31,770 for Lisburne, Ireland on 17 October 1708. Amounts collected run into shillings and did not often exceed 2s. Payment for briefs was also noted in the Monthly Meeting minutes, mostly after 1727, though either the account is incomplete or contributions became much more erratic, since the record (as transcribed from the Brief book) of fourteen contributions within two years, between 1707 and 1709 fell to nineteen recorded contributions within thirty years, between 1720 and 1750.

Legacies for the use of the poor were a substantial addition to the collections made for their use. Often quite small amounts, they constituted additional relief which was appreciated by the recipients. Unfortunately, the records of charities and the interest accruing on them were particularly prone to loss: Friends were no better than their Anglican counterparts at keeping track of money left to them. Accounts were not always kept, regular payment of interest was usually left to the responsibility of the borrower, some money was lost.

1. J. Cadbury, 'Kings Briefs', JFHS, Vol III (1906) p.111.

The main bulk of legacies to Derbyshire Friends came between the years 1689 and 1714 when there were at least 18 individual bequests and one specific donation to the funds of the Society. Before 1689 there are only seven traceable bequests and from 1714 - 1761 only four. The middle period marks the end of the first period of enthusiasm and conversion which resulted in many Friends making charitable bequests to their co-religionists. Thereafter their children were either less convinced of the needs of the Society or were less able to make significant contributions. The total of £216.16s bequeathed during the middle period, which is probably an underestimate since some of the references are extremely vague, was partly distributed outright and partly invested. Problems arose over the latter when those entrusted with the capital either failed to pay the interest or return the bulk sum. Enquiries of the type made at Monyash Monthly Meeting in 1706 about the money left by John Walton in 1698, are rare. The whole £20 was accounted for; £5 had been let out on mortgage to John Frost at 5s. p.a., £5 had been lent to Edmund James at 5s. p.a., and £10 had been lent to George Chrichlow 'on which he has not paid interest this year'.¹ The difficulties experienced by Breach Monthly Meeting over the account of Judith Hopkins' legacy of £80 in 1707 were much more typical. Some of the money was used to buy property in Melbourne: the rest formed the basis of a three-sided agreement between Samuel Johnson, Samuel Brookhouse and the Monthly Meeting until 1717 when Francis Tantom went to Lichfield to fetch a copy of the will. At no point did it seem possible to get both Samuel Johnson and Samuel Brookhouse together at the Monthly Meeting despite frequent requests.

1. Q 86, 5.7.1706.

Similar problems arose over the interest accruing from the most substantial donation made to Chesterfield Monthly Meeting. Gilbert Heathcote gave £62 to this Meeting in 1701 which was used to buy land at Ashover forming a perpetual fund to be used for the apprenticeship of poor Quaker boys. In 1702 Joseph Storrs bought, on behalf of the meeting, Over End Farm, Ashover; in 1867 this constituted an estate of 6 acres, 1 rod, and 18 perches and brought in £14 p.a.¹ In the eighteenth century the income was not as great (£4.10s p.a. in 1739), but was sufficient for its purpose. Administration of the income however, constituted a continual problem for the Meeting since Samuel Ashton, who was entrusted with the money, was not a skilled accountant. In 1712 Stephen Arnold, who took over the task of acting as clerk of the Monthly Meeting from him, was ready to take over the charity as well. Some hitch must have occurred and very intermittent accounts were brought in by Samuel Ashton until his death in 1722. Thereafter, and particularly after the appointment of new trustees in 1728 together with seven auditors and supervisors, accounts were more regular. Samuel Ashton's son, also Samuel, was more methodical than his father had been and the fund prospered. At his death in 1744, the accumulated income was lent out, with an additional £8, to William Storrs at 4%.

Amalgamation of Monthly Meetings caused problems over the income from legacies, particularly in areas such as the High Peak where communications were always difficult because of the geographical situation. William Beard's legacy of £50 in 1714 was one of the most substantial left to the county but it caused endless difficulties. A proportion was owed to the Low Leighton Meeting from which he came. After the transference of this

1. 14th Report of the Charity Commissioners, 1867. (1875)

Meeting to within the compass of the Cheshire Quarterly Meeting in 1738 there was constant friction about the amount due. The capital was let out at interest to various members of the Storrs family and in 1761 it was decided that distribution of the income should be left solely in the hands of Chesterfield Monthly Meeting.

Occasionally contributions to poor relief funds are noted as having come from sources outside the county. Regular assistance was referred to briefly by Monyash Monthly Meeting in 1701 when the Monthly Meeting minutes noted that there had been no complaints from the poor since they had had great relief from Elizabeth Dickson of London for several years.¹ Meeting for Sufferings sent Thomas Cockin of Chesterfield Meeting £4.9.8. in 1746 to compensate for his sufferings in the rebellion of the previous year.

The hospital at Mansfield founded in 1691 by Elizabeth Heath whose trustees included several Friends from Derbyshire, provided assistance in the form of accommodation and board for a few Derbyshire Friends. The extent of this type of relief does not seem to have been clearly defined. The original terms of the charity provided an almshouse and endowment for ~~six~~ of the poor of Mansfield and ~~six~~ poor Friends.² The endowment included lands in Derbyshire belonging to Elizabeth Heath. The disposition of the places in the almshouses was at the discretion of the trustees and Margaret Waterhouse of Chesterfield was an inhabitant from 1693, possibly up to 1722. John Tomlinson of Watchill was there from 1703 and in 1717 the question of getting Daniel Betteridge of Breach Monthly Meeting into the hospital was already being considered, although he was not finally admitted

1. Q 86, 4.7.1701.

2. 25th Report of the Charity Commissioners, (1833) p.410-18.

until 1723. Applications were not always successful, a place for Ann Severns of the same Meeting apparently being refused in 1733, since she continued to be a charge on the Meeting. Friends were not entirely clear as to their entitlement in this matter and correspondence on the subject passed between Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire Meetings on several occasions.

Legacies from Friends other than those living within the Quarterly Meeting of the county eked out the assistance given to poor Friends. Most legacies came from within the county but occasionally outside bequests were made, though the connections between the donor and the area are unstated. Walter Newton of Warwickshire left £10 in 1666 to Friends who had suffered by the late Act of Parliament; William Heath, late of Tean, Staffordshire followed the earlier example of his wife and left £10 to the poor of Monyash Monthly Meeting in 1697 and John Walton of Gloucestershire left a further £20 to the same Meeting the following year. The intensity of outside assistance given to Monyash Monthly Meeting may reflect the influence of John Gratton, who was a widely known and travelled Minister. He may have been successful in raising money to keep this small Meeting together.

The detailed knowledge of each person's circumstances which sprang from the close-knit relationship of members of a small religious group made the choice of recipients for poor relief relatively easy. Certain categories of persons were clearly in need, such as orphaned children, widows with dependent children and those who were sick and infirm. Fox had expressed his own attitude at an early stage when he wrote of his own calling in 1649 and his responsibility 'to bring people off from all the world's religions .. that they might know the pure religions,

might visit the fatherless, the widows and the strangers .. then there would not be so many beggars, the sight of whom often grieved my heart, to see so much hard-heartedness amongst them that professed the name of Christ'.¹ Further proposals for the relief of the poor were put forward at the Skipton Meeting in 1659 when a direction was included that each particular meeting would be expected to care for its poor, to find employment for those out of work or who cannot follow their former callings 'by reason of the evil therein' and to help parents to educate their children 'in order that there may not be a beggar amongst us'.² Assessment of the situation of any of those thought to be in need was undertaken by the Monthly Meeting, or the Meeting considered reports brought in spontaneously.

The attitude of the donors varied as much as that of the recipients; on occasion Friends were invited to apply for assistance if they felt the need but frequently declined on the grounds that they 'had no want at present'; on other occasions help was offered more grudgingly. Joseph Frith, dyer, of Chesterfield, was constantly having to be nudged into managing his resources rather better and in 1758 an enquiry was made to discover if he was really as incapable as he made out. Two years later a slightly terse memorandum in the minute book noted that as he was managing slightly better now, no token should be sent, but a request could be made if necessary³. The use of the word 'token' seems to imply that such help was not to be regarded as automatic, and that it was not intended to cover all expenses. Two months later his wife Mary asked for help with the rent⁴ and from subsequent records it is clear that her husband

1. Epistles, p.21.

2. J. Barclay ed., Letters from Early Friends, (London, 1841), p.240.

3. Q 62C, 17.7.1760.

4. " , 18.9.1760.

had reverted to his previous bad habits. Assistance was not continued if the recipient's circumstances improved and of all those in the Derbyshire Meetings who were receiving regular help at the end of their lives most had already been assisted occasionally. This reveals a careful husbanding of resources by the Monthly Meetings whose incomes in any case were too small to help any but those most in need.

Without a membership list the problem of deciding which Meeting bore responsibility for relief inevitably arose. Friends used a system of issuing certificates to travelling members to serve as a form of recommendation and identification. By 1710 this was extended by the Yearly Meeting in an effort to establish responsibility for the poor. The position was further defined in 1737 when 'Rules for Removal and Settlement' were published by which those who were in receipt of either regular or irregular relief remained members of their original meeting if they had received help within the past three years.

Widow Bowen was given substantial relief by Monyash Monthly Meeting from 1727 until she eventually decided to move to Wirksworth in 1731. Although it was within the same Quarterly Meeting, Friends agreed to pay her 2s a week for maintenance. She had caused trouble before she moved, but Joseph Whiston caused more after he and his family moved to Leek, Staffordshire sometime before 1760. While there he became ill and died. Joseph Whitfield and Henry Bowman each undertook several journeys to Leek to deal with the expenses which included the doctor's bill, the burial fees and the maintenance of the children. His widow was not a Friend, but nevertheless the children were regarded as the responsibility of the Society. When she indicated that she wished them to be educated at

Friend's direction one of the Friends reported to the Monthly Meeting that agreement had been reached 'by Article' over their future.¹ Responsibility for poor Friends who went to Mansfield Hospital was specifically undertaken, since their circumstances indicated that they were likely to become an increasing charge. The Breach Monthly Meeting minutes contain a copy of a letter dated 1723, presumably to the Hospital, accepting responsibility for Daniel Betterige should he become more chargeable.² Subsequent expenses on his behalf included 3s for his coal in 1724, 4s for 'hingings about his bed' in 1725, and 2s 9d for two shifts in 1726. This was in addition to a regular small payment in cash. In the matter of poor relief, the role of the Monthly Meeting was much greater than that of the Quarterly Meeting. The amount of money disposed of to poor Friends by the Women's Quarterly Meeting was consistently less than the stock of Chesterfield Monthly Meeting. In 1703 the latter paid out £6 5s, and the former £2 3s, though the number of paupers assisted was the same. In the year that the Quarterly Meetings of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire amalgamated, 1761, Derbyshire Quarterly Meeting disbursed £1 3s 6d to four poor Friends, and Chesterfield Monthly Meeting distributed £9 9s 4d to the same number. Comparison of figures is, however, a risky undertaking as there are a number of payments which may not have been entered, or which may have been taken for granted. Quarterly or monthly allowances were usually entered but not infallibly; irregular payments or gifts were probably noted more reliably.

Chesterfield Monthly Meeting had the largest amount of money at its

1. Q 62C, 18.6.1761.

2. Q 59, 9.8.1723.

disposal though the claims on it were also undoubtedly greater. In the early part of the eighteenth century Chesterfield Meeting gave help to individuals often amounting to £2 or more per annum. Total disbursements amounted to between £5 and £7 every year for the first half of the century. By the middle of the century costs had risen slightly and during the middle 1750s, a period of unusual need, the Meeting was paying out a total of over £13 per annum. £5 6s of this went to Mary and Joseph Frith in 1755 and 1756 and during the same years £7 boarding payment was made to the daughter of Henry and Mary Williamson who had agreed to take her elderly parents into her house. Both couples were a permanent burden on the Meeting and in the case of the Williamsons the total cost of their relief between 1729 and 1759, when record of payment to Mary ceases, had been £88 11s 6½d - which must represent a minimum figure.

Other Meetings were less able to pay out on this scale; Breach Monthly Meeting gave little consistent monetary relief until 1712 when Daniel Betteridge began to get the first of fairly regular amounts which varied according to his needs. These were between 5s and 33s a year. Shortly after payment to him ceased, Ann Severns began to receive regular assistance which began in 1730 at 18s 6d and rose to £3 8s 2½d in 1747, the year of her death.

Monyash Monthly Meeting shouldered the burden of Anthony Bunting who reputedly lived to the age of 100, though he was less needy than some. In 1688 a request was made for assistance from the Quarterly Meeting for four members of this Meeting, the first request of many. Anthony Bunting was the only successful candidate. Regular help was less possible for Meetings as small as this to provide, and they resorted in 1727 to offering

their entire stock to Rebecca Bowen.

The problem of accommodation was often considered during the Monthly Meetings and a variety of solutions for poorer members was adopted. Friends were frequently prepared to pay their rent for them though a request for such help was not accepted without due cause shown. Ellen Jones received rent assistance from time to time from 1728 but was asked to attend the Meeting in 1733 to explain her request for rent assistance.¹

One of the most *satisfactory solutions of the problem of housing poor Friends* was to allow them to inhabit the Meeting house at a reduced rent or rent free in return for some small services such as sweeping, cleaning and arranging for repairs. Breach Monthly Meeting agreed in 1700 that Luke Hank should inhabit the Meeting house, probably the one at Sawley.² In 1750 Chesterfield Monthly Meeting agreed that Caleb Loe should live in a house belonging to the Meeting from which the previous tenant had been evicted, should pay the usual rent, sweep the Meeting house, make fires and clean the hearse. Eleven years later Friends acquitted him of the necessity to pay the rent owed from the last three years and permitted him to live in the house rent free thereafter.³

Other arrangements involved Friends in taking decisions for those who were unable to organize their own lives. This included boarding them out when they became incapable of living by themselves, thus avoiding the cost of providing care in their own homes. In 1714 Isabel Vickerstaff of Chesterfield Monthly Meeting was moved to live with Mary Rodgers and her husband who were to receive a weekly allowance.⁴ When she died 2 years

1. Q 62C, 17.11.1733.
 2. Q 59, 10.2.1700.
 3. Q 62D, 19.11.1761.
 4. Q 62B, 27.7.1714.

later the Rodgers took her goods in lieu of part of her weekly allowance which was still owed.¹ Similar arrangements concerning the Williamsons were carefully made but had to be changed after the death of Henry Williamson; Mary Williamson, the daughter, wrote to Chesterfield Monthly Meeting in 1757 that 'she and her brothers are not free to be at any expence on account of her Mother besides giving her House room, which they agree too; Friends not accepting this offer we send her a Token of 6s. for the month to come and agree that Joseph Frith propose to her Daughter Mary, that Friends will give up their right and Title to her Mothers Goods in the House, on her paying all the Expenses for keeping her Mother to this time, and pay her Funeral Expences at her decease'.² Rationalization of existing accommodation was another solution to the problem of meetings overburdened with poor members. Chesterfield Monthly Meeting agreed in 1701 that Ellen Watson should go and live with her sister Mary in order to help her uncle John Holmes, her brother being thus enabled to go to the farm on which she was currently living.³

Private agreements between father and son, or friends, for the provision of a sum of money in return for ultimate possession of a house were fairly common. This constituted a reasonable way of ensuring an income for those too infirm to maintain themselves. Monyash Monthly Meeting recorded the agreement in 1693 that 'Old Anthony Bunting is willing for John Gratton to have all his house in which he now Dwells giveing him £10 as he needs it upon Friends' account and if Anthony Bunting and his wife live till the £10 abovesaid be spent friends do engage to help them and Anthony and his wife are to live in the above house'.⁴

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1. Q 62B, 17.3.1716.
 2. " 20.10.1757.
 3. " 18.10.1701.
 4. Q 86, 7.6.1701.

This agreement involved the Meeting as a final security for the maintenance of Anthony Bunting.

Material assistance frequently took the form of paying for funeral expenses or at least for the actual coffin, the cost of which was quite substantial. The price of a coffin in the late seventeenth century was 5s 6d - 6s in Derbyshire, but had risen to anything up to 9s in the mid-eighteenth century. Comparable costs in Norfolk for the latter date suggest that it was rather cheaper to die in Derbyshire, since in Norfolk the cost of a coffin was about 12s 6d in 1757.¹ The cost of making the grave, of buying the winding cloths or the burial flannel was sometimes added and in 1687 Monyash Monthly Meeting contributed 3s 6d towards the burial of some children, together with bread and drink for the mourners. Ostentation in the provision of refreshments at funerals was frowned on and it seems unlikely that such a small amount would have stretched to the provision of cheese which was a North country habit.² Provision of a proper burial was a constant worry to Friends throughout the period; John Gratton recorded a promise he had made to George Ellis in 1701 that if he died a coffin and decent burial would be provided at Friends' charge.³

Clothes, and shoes in particular, were often provided for those in need, though individual items of clothing were not always noted. In 1753 shoes cost the Meeting between 2s 6d a pair for a woman Friend and 4s a pair for a man Friend. At the beginning of the century they had been slightly cheaper at approximately 3s. Leather breeches, stocking, shifts and skirts were all mentioned, for some of which the accounts

1. Muriel F. Lloyd Prichard, 'Norfolk Friends' Care of their Poor, 1700-1850', *JFHS* Vol XXXIX, (1947), p.29.

2. Braithwaite, Vol II, p.514.

3. Q 86, 7.6.1701.

itemize the cost of the cloth and the cost of making up the garment. None of the clothes mentioned were anything but the most basic necessities. If a Friend had been helped by the Meeting substantially it was expected that at their death any residual effects would be sold for the benefit of the Meeting: this included clothing. In 1745 Chesterfield Monthly Meeting noted 'We being informed there is some expences to be paid on Account of Mary Maiden deceased its desired Samuel Boulsover and William Storrs may request Phillip Maiden either to take her Cloaths and pay the Expence or send them to Sheffield to be disposed of there to pay the Expence on her Account'.¹ The circumstances were unexplained and the expense referred to must be one of a number of undocumented costs if it refers to expenses paid for by the Society. Furniture was loaned to poor Friends when necessary. In 1732 Ann Green borrowed the bedstead and cofer which had been left to the Meeting at Breach by Jonathan Tantum in 1729 'to stand as Earlooms'.

The provision of coal to paupers is often masked in the provision of coal for the Meeting house. As the meeting house was frequently used as a dwelling house, some of the constant supply of fuel must have been part of the provision for the inhabitant. At Chesterfield the meeting house was swept and the fires were made by Margaret Tornor from 1697 - 1711, who was being helped by the Meeting quite regularly from 1703: coal was a constant item in the expenditure. At Monyash the meeting house was kept by Rebecca Bowen for some years and as soon as a grate was installed, accounts for coal begin to appear. The most frequent accounts for coal are amongst the Breach Monthly Meeting minutes, though even there the distinction between the coal used for the Meeting house and the coal supplied to the inhabitant was not made. It seems likely that the distinction was not made by Friends at the time.

1. Q 62E, 26.10.1745.

Derbyshire Quakers were mostly concerned with husbandry and the replacement of stock constituted a fairly heavy expense. Provision of replacements by the Meeting gave poor Friends the chance to continue to make their own living. John Gratton expressed the concern felt by Friends that those who had had ill-luck should be helped, rather than being left to claim assistance when he wrote to Breach Monthly Meeting about Dorothy Palmer who had held many Meetings at her house. She had undergone great losses in cattle and horses 'but freinds doe very much pittty her and her children and that they may asist her to hould the farme that she lives upon they think it best and most expedient to make her a collection thorow this county and another or twoo amoungst faithfull loveing friends that are thorow mercy able to give her some assistance that soe shee and her children may not be flunge out of the house and harbour and upon the parish the live in..'.¹ The cost would usually have to be met by a special collection, since the resources of the more rural Meetings were not sufficiently large to cover the expense of a horse or cow. In 1696 Matthew Smith required help for the replacement of some cows, in 1705 George Fletcher's horse was stolen, in 1727 John Longden was sent £3 8s for a cow and in 1735 a horse was provided for Henry Williamson. This last attempt to assist a Friend to help himself went wrong in some way: on 21st October 1736 Chesterfield Monthly Meeting noted that 'A Friend acquainting us, the Horse Friends bought for Henry Williamson, does not answer his expectation, we desire him to deliver him up to Matthew Hopkinson Junior to dispose of to the best advantage, pay the charge of summering and give us account of his proceeding'.² The result was a Monthly Meeting decision that Henry Williamson should in

1. Q 59, 12.11.1703/4.

2. Q 620, 21.8.1736.

future be given money according to his needs. The cost of maintenance was quite high as Matthew Hopkinson was only left with £1 9s 3d after the horse had been sold. On another occasion the maintenance of an existing animal seems to have been too much for a poor Friend of Monyash Monthly Meeting. George Chrichlow was appointed 'To look to Joseph Lee horss want not meal till our next Monthly Meeting and Friends will content him for it.'¹ This was in December 1688 and possibly during a difficult time of year.

Being a predominantly rural area, there was not much necessity for the provision of industrial stock, though 12s was provided for William Jones of Monyash Monthly Meeting for a weavers 'warking-loum'. It ultimately cost 11s 6d.²

Working capital, rather than plant, was loaned to Friends who were regarded as sufficiently trustworthy. Breach Monthly Meeting received a request for a loan to make malt from Philip Brownlow in 1702, a previous excise man who had lost his job because of his inability to take an oath. Four months after the original request the Meeting decided that he should be given £5 'grattlesly' instead of being lent £10 or £15; this was because he was regarded as having born such a noble testimony. Whether the amount was insufficient or whether Philip Brownlow was unwilling to accept the gift is unclear, but the offer was refused at the following Monthly Meeting and the matter dropped after individual members had offered to lend him £10. Other loans were usually made to those whose business was already sufficiently well established for them to pay interest on the money.

1. Q 86, 6.10.1688.

2. Q 86, 31.1.1681.

The provision of employment to the poor of Derbyshire Meetings was not such a problem as for the Friends of large cities such as London or Bristol. Sweeping the meeting house, cleaning the hearse, making fires and such small jobs were usually sufficient to occupy a few of those who needed assistance and the rest were frequently too old or infirm to be employed. Intermittent suggestions were made at Chesterfield Monthly Meeting, in particular on January 17, 1698/9, when Joseph Storrs 'laide before this Meeting the request of the women's Meeting that they would desire that friends of the men's Meeting would Essist them in raiseing some money for to bye some tow for to set some pore friends on work that soe they may not be burdensome to friends as they have bene,'¹ but there is no indication that any action was taken as a result of the suggestion. The risks involved were made apparent when Breach Monthly Meeting tried to coax some work out of Ann Severns in 1735. She had had at least intermittent help from 1702 and an unsuccessful request had been made to Mansfield Hospital for a place for her in 1733. Two years later the Monthly Meeting purchased 18 lbs of 'tear' (tow, the coarse part of hemp or flax) with a legacy, in order to induce her to work. The total expenses came to £1 4s 5d, and the return, when the resultant cloth had been sold was £1 3s 9½d.² No further attempts were made of this nature.

Assistance was often given in the form of apprenticeships, particularly to widows left with children to provide for. The cost of this was borne by the Monthly Meeting though the result, in Derbyshire at least, was for Chesterfield Monthly Meeting to help the whole county since the other

1. Q 62B, 17.11.1698/9.

2. Q 59, 1735-8.

Meetings were never sufficiently well off to provide a substantial capital sum. Details from the Quarterly Meeting book prior to the entries in the Monthly Meeting books indicate that the cost of apprenticeship varied between £3 for a girl in 1677 and £5 for a boy in 1672. In neither case was the length of term stated. Nearly a century later Chesterfield Meeting paid £5 for a boy to be apprenticed with a further £5 promised if he reached the age of 14, and £4 for a girl for a term of six years. These figures hide a fairly static price for the first half of the eighteenth century of £4 for a boy, which appears to be the standard price until about 1750. In Norfolk, by comparison, the cost of apprenticeship in the early eighteenth century was £5 - £6.¹

The result of the purchase of Overend farm, Ashover in 1702, was for the income to be applied by Chesterfield Monthly Meeting for binding 29 boys apprentice between 1702 and 1761 for terms varying between five and eight years. By comparison the Quarterly Meeting had placed only six children between 1672 and 1702 and these had to be financed by special collections. After 1702 apprenticeship was only mentioned in the Quarterly Meeting minutes when the poorer Meetings sent in requests for assistance, and in at least one instance Friends handed over all responsibility to Chesterfield. The trust was restricted to boys as the Meeting discovered in 1741 when it tried to apprentice Ann Williamson to Henry Spencer for six years. The girl's indentures were paid for instead by contributions and raising a temporary loan from the apprentice fund.² It seems clear that the fund was more than adequate for its purpose as suggestions were made intermittently that its terms should be changed to enable some of the income to be used for other charitable purposes.

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1. Muriel F. Lloyd Prichard, 'Norfolk Friends' Care of their Poor'.
JFHS Vol XL, p.6.
 2. Q 62C, 17.10.1741.

Occasionally a very young child was apprenticed for what must have been most of its childhood, the intention being to provide it with a home and possibly some education prior to the learning of a trade. Provision of schooling was sometimes made part of the agreement, and frequent reference was made to the problem of clothing. Normally this was undertaken by the master, together with any other stated responsibilities, but if really necessary the Meeting provided an extra sum to cover clothing. The indigent Williamson family were unable to provide sufficient for their children, even when the main expense of their education and maintenance was borne by the Meeting; in 1741 it was agreed at Chesterfield Monthly Meeting that Jonathan Fletcher should take Henry Williamson's son John apprentice for ~~four~~ years for a sume of four pounds 'and Ten Shillings towards Clothing him at first, he finding him meat, drink, washing and lodging and nessassary Clothings, during the said Terms and if he keep him Seven Years longer we are to allow four pounds more'.¹ The Meeting also expressed its preference on at least one occasion for the type of trade which it wanted the child to learn; Joshua Lee was bound apprentice to his father, a tailor, for 40s with the possibility of a further 40s in ~~two~~ years at Friend's discretion. He was to learn in particular the art of a leather breeches maker.² Presumably the arrangement worked out to Friends' satisfaction, since his father's application for the rest of the money was granted in 1720.

Cloth working, or clothes making, were the predominant types of work to which children were directed, reflecting types of work easily available in the area which were also reasonably remunerative. Included amongst these were shoemakers, 'body's tradesmen', tailors and frame work knitters.

1. Q 62C, 19.9.1741.

2. Q 62B, 19.1.1718.

Sons were frequently bound to their fathers thus perpetuating the family business. Samuel Bolsover took two of his own sons apprentice tailor, one in 1724 and another in 1734. On the first occasion he was to get the money only if there were none more necessitous than himself, but since he took four of those needing places (including his own two sons) between 1711 and 1734, he must have considered the arrangements advantageous. It was automatically assumed that children would be apprenticed to Friends whether they were bound by their parents or the Meeting. In 1689 James Ridgeway sr. of Low Leighton Monthly Meeting was reported to be penitent for having apprenticed his son to a man of the world, and this caused a dispute with the Monthly Meeting. The minute noted that the matter was not to be referred to again.¹ This sort of episode was unusual and the strong sense of unity as a group was usually fostered by children being carefully placed. This care may be reflected in the absence of disputes between masters and apprentices. If the arrangement made by the Meeting appeared unsatisfactory the decision to terminate the agreement was made quite quickly. This happened in the case of John Rogers who was bound to Richard Clayton in 1703.² In 1748 John Loe was bound to Joseph Fletcher for a total of ten pounds as a frame work knitter for ten years; possibly the inclusion of the clause that the master should 'allow him necessary Schooling as reading and writing' had an adverse effect on Joseph Fletcher for he returned to the Meeting and the boy was taken on by Thomas Ellis instead.³ These are only two examples and the presumption must be that the arrangements made for all the other boys were satisfactory. This may be due to the fact that adequate payment could be made as a result of the charity, ensuring that

1. CCRO EPC 3/1, 25.1.1689.

2. Q 628, 23.10.1703.

3. " C, 17.1.1747/8.

the masters were receiving a reasonable return. The only recorded argument over apprenticeship occurred before the Charity was established. Hezekiah Barker had been bound to Francis Bentley, shoemaker, in 1690 and a special collection was ordered to pay for his bonds. Two years later some unspecified argument arose, but it appeared that Francis Bentley may have been trying to terminate the agreement for lack of money. The offer of a further 20s from the Quarterly Meeting smoothed things over and when he attended Monyash Monthly Meeting on the 2nd February 1692/3 he capitulated to the effect 'that his man could make a little a payer of shews and [that he] will hold him to his trade what is convenient'.¹

Apprentices were normally found masters close at hand, and there were very few instances of the type of vagueness shown by Low Leighton Monthly Meeting in a note dated 25th June 1719 when it was 'thought' that Samuel Frith for whom the Meeting had asked the Quarterly Meeting for assistance only ~~three~~ months previously, had gone to John Brockhouse in Ashover. They had the place correctly but not the name of the master who was in fact John Bower. This may be due to the fact that Ashover was some distance from the area covered by the Low Leighton Monthly Meeting and communications were often poor.

No reason was given by Monyash Monthly Meeting for placing widow Berley's son apprentice in London in 1702,² though if it was the same son for whom she had asked for help in 1695, he may have been rather older than some of the other boys who were in need of a place. It is also possible that it was due to the influence of the Rodes family of Barlborough Hall.

1. Q 86, 2.12.1692.

2. Q 61A, 1.11.1701/2.

Martha Rodes, the mother of Sir John, wrote to her son in 1691 about another young boy sent from Derbyshire '.. I understand tom Bentley¹ is gotten safe to London and I approve of that way to have him be upon taking sometime before he be bound. I did intend to put thee in mind of Joshua Kirby, for his mother is very desirous to have him out, and it will be A making to the boy, so I would have thee remember to gitt A place for him upon such reasonable terms as ten pound, and parents find him Cloths and pay the moneyes at twice.'² About a year later she referred to him in another letter 'I perceive Tho Bentley is like to stay with the Kalender, so I desire thee to agree with R. Smith upon as easie terms as thou canst for J. Kirby, for I thinke it would be amaking to the lad, which makes me very desirous of it.'³

Medical care was paid for by Friends when members of the various Meetings were unable to bear the cost. The Quarterly Meeting minute book records a discussion about paying £3 for surgery to John Milnes' leg in 1674 and the question of helping John Hawkes' son in 1684 who had accidentally been 'shott'. Later references to medical assistance are sparse though Chesterfield Monthly Meeting recorded a payment of 15s to Edmund Metcalf's son who owed money in Bath where he had gone for a cure for lameness in 1700.⁴ Since one of the most wealthy Quakers in the county, Gilbert Heathcote, was a doctor, Friends may have relied on him for any advice other than that needed in the ordinary course of sickness. Martha Rodes recorded various visits he made to members of their family in her letters to Sir John Rodes.⁵

Nursing care was quite frequently provided, though the help would probably

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1. This may have been the son of John and Anna Bentley who were living in Barlborough Parish by 1685.
 2. Locker Lampson, p. 24.
 3. Locker Lampson, p. 29.
 4. Q 62B, 17.7.1700.
 5. Locker Lampson, p. 33, 34.

have been more in the nature of assistance with household chores such as washing, and caring for children while their mother was ill or lying-in. Payment was sometimes made to women Friends for 'looking to' an elderly member of the Meeting, and laundry bills were also itemized in the Meeting accounts for those incapable of doing their own washing.

When the question of poor relief was raised, communication between the Monthly Meeting and the various parishes within its orbit varied according to circumstances. In principle Friends preferred to be under no obligation to the Anglican authorities. Fox described the surprise of the justices in 1660 when confronted at a Meeting which they had come to break up, with 'freinds bookes and accounts of collections concerning the poore how that wee did take care one county to help another ... and that the poore neede not trouble theire parishes..¹ Despite the acrimonious relationship which must have existed in some places between Friends and the parish priests or farmers of tithes, the Quakers were part of the community which depended on the parish for the organization of local government at its lowest level. Consequently Friends were obliged to participate to the extent of contributing to the poor rate and the constable levy.

In Derbyshire only Breach Monthly Meeting minutes record the payment of the poor rate. The amount varied between 3d in 1700 and 1s 2½d in 1729, though it had fallen back to 4d by 1759. The accounts may or may not be accurate, some years no mention is made of payment, in others there is a note that the amount represents two assessments. Occasionally the poor rate was paid together with the constable's levy which probably hides a

1. Journal, p.373.

slightly more regular payment than appears. The contribution was made on behalf of the Meeting house at Breach, and payment was often made by John Peake, or his son, who inhabited and cared for property. Although there were similar arrangements in the other Meetings, payment of the rate is not mentioned.

Accommodation was usually the problem which brought Friends and the parish overseers together. In the case of Peter Frith, a place in the Town Workhouse at Chesterfield was specifically requested by the Monthly Meeting since the boy was an idiot and had been causing difficulties. Thus in 1751 it was recorded that the town officers had agreed to find him a place.¹ Other references to the parish responsibilities in this respect are sparse. Co-operation resulted in a solution to the problem of finding a room for Esther Ellis in 1716 when the overseer at Chesterfield provided the accommodation and Friends agreed to do what they could about the rent.² Members of Breach Monthly Meeting did their best for Margaret Ryle when she applied to live in the Meeting house at Codnor. The parish officials were asked if they would accept a settlement certificate for her.³

Friends were not expected to ask for monetary assistance from the parish. If they did so a warning would be issued, as in the case of Joseph Frith, the dyer, of Chesterfield who was told in 1758 that he would be disowned if he persisted in applying to the overseer of the town for relief.⁴ Frith was constantly in trouble for debt and bad management; it was his son Peter who had already caused Friends to apply to the overseer, which may have led his father to believe it would be a fruitful source.

1. Q 62C, 17.8.1751.

2. Q 62B, 19.2.1716 [the wording of this entry is slightly ambiguous but it implies that the parish was assisting the Monthly Meeting]

3. Q 59, 14.4.1704.

4. Q 86, 21.12.1758.

Conversely, entries in the minute books of odd small sums paid to 'a poor man', or 'a poor woman and Child' are probably instances of the Friends giving charity to those in need who were not Quakers.

Goods may have been more acceptable to the Society than money, but there were few recorded instances of gifts from the parish in Derbyshire. Practical help was almost certainly given in many cases of need, as it was over the problems of distraint for the payment of tithes, but more on the basis of neighbourliness than as definite parochial assistance. When Ann Severns of Breach Meeting was given 10s for coal in 1742 by the parish it may well have been because she had been a burden on the Meeting for the past 30 years.¹

1. Q 59, 13.8.1742.

CHAPTER VII

EDUCATION AND LITERACY

Concern of Friends for the education of children is well-documented for the richer counties but is harder to discover for areas like Derbyshire. There was no Friends' school established which lasted for any length of time in the county and all the returns to the Yearly Meeting on this matter are negative. Nor is there any reference to any qualified schoolmaster or mistress.

In Chesterfield, the only area which might have had sufficient Quaker children to merit the establishment of a school, two attempts came to little. In 1697 Esther Storrs, daughter of William, offered at the Monthly Meeting to teach all Friends children to read, sew and knit.¹ This presumably applied to the female children and the omission of writing is significant. Perhaps it was due to her influence that the Monthly Meeting paid 3s 6d on 19.1.1699 'for binding and Alfebates'. There is no indication of how long she went on teaching but the enterprise may have come to an end with her marriage to Richard Morris later that year, or when he subsequently moved from the county in 1707.

A school of sorts must have existed in the Meeting House at Chesterfield in the late 1720s since a minute referring to it was made in the book on 15.6.1728. It cannot have been running for long however, as the return made to the Yearly Meeting in 1725 by Derbyshire stated that there was no school in the county 'nor are there a competent number of children

1. Q 62B, 21.10.1697.

whose parents are of Ability to Incourage the settlement of a Master amongst us, such as are send them into Neighbouring countys to Masters that are Friends and its what we advise to'.¹ The neighbouring counties might have been Yorkshire, Leicestershire, Staffordshire or Nottinghamshire. In Staffordshire a Friends school existed at Leek in 1699² and in Nottingham the clerk of the Monthly Meeting at that time was a schoolmaster, William Thompson, who had been prosecuted three years earlier for teaching in 'a priviledged place' (i.e. a Meeting House) without a licence.³ Thompson had links with a number of Derbyshire Friends and his signature sometimes occurs as witness to a will. The scope of the school in Chesterfield by 1728 however was such that Joseph Frith, the butcher, complained. His house abutted on the Meeting House and his wishes were usually respected as his father had sold the land for the meeting house to Friends. He was unhappy about widow Lee's organization of a school for small children 'whereby he esteems himself annoyed if not sometimes damaged.'⁴ John Bower, Stephen Arnold and Joseph Loe were requested to ask her to desist and the following month a minute was made that widow Lee had agreed to leave off school 'in condescension to Joseph and Friends request'.⁵ It does not sound a very ambitious project.

Four years later, in 1732, the usual return was made to Yearly Meeting - the number of Friends in the county being small, there was no schoolmaster. Whether the receipt by Breach Monthly Meeting of 3d from William Day for a primer in 1735 indicated anything more than an

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1. YMM, 1725.
 2. VCH Staffs., Vol III, p.122.
 3. MMS, 14.6.96.
 4. Q 62B, 15.6.1728.
 5. Q 62B, 19.7.1728.

individual interest in education is unclear. It seems likely that it was not more than that. Some interest in the possibility of establishing a school must have been expressed later as Chesterfield Monthly Meeting repaid Isaac Metcalf for the carriage of and sundry papers on the encouragement of Friends' schools in 1747. That did not deter Derbyshire Friends from recording at Yearly Meeting the following year that they were convinced that no poor Friends suffered from want of learning.

Education for those able to pay was probably no more difficult for Friends than for others. Nothing is known about the early education of Sir John Rodes of Barlborough, but he probably had the conventional upbringing of a later seventeenth century child of the lesser gentry. When he became a Friend however, at the age of about 20, William Penn was at pains to ensure that his learning was not neglected. A comprehensive list of books accompanied a recommendation for a course of life written in a letter dated the eighth month (October) 1693. Penn suggested apportioning days of the week and the times of day as he did himself. A quarter of the time available to be spent on 'Religion, in Waiting, Reading, Meditating etc... † to some generall study. † to meals and some Bodily labour as Gardening, or some Mathematicall Exercise. † to serve friends or neighbours and look after my Estate; it prevents consumption of time and confusion in Business'¹. Thomas Lawson, a Quaker botanist, had tried to help Rodes when he corresponded with him in 1690. Having been a schoolmaster he was nevertheless prepared to 'abandon my employ of schooling here and being with thee, lay out myselfe for thy improvement in Latin, Greek and hebrew; and for the knowledge of plants, and without any great charge, could bring

1. Locker Lampson, p. 4.

in 2 or 3 of the moste parte or of all the trees and shrubs and plants in England into a plot of ground for that purpose prepared, and many outlandish plants also'.¹ His interests were mainly botanical and he seems to have been keen to develop the Barlborough estate, though as he died the following year he cannot have made much progress.

The Heathcote family of Cutthorp, who became related to the Rodes family through the marriage of Sir John's younger sister Frances to Gilbert Heathcote, were also able to afford education. Gilbert, (1664-1719) another friend of William Penn, spent a year at Christ's College Cambridge in 1681 and gained his medical knowledge at Leyden between 1686 and 1688. He practised as a doctor both in Derbyshire and London where he was living at the time of his death in 1719. At least two of his sons, Cornelius (1694-1730) and John (1696- ?) also went to Leyden, Cornelius gaining his MD by 1718 having spent two years there, John spending only one year there in 1717, and not, apparently, having qualified. Cornelius' son, Gilbert (? -1768) eventually inherited the Barlborough estates in 1743, but no details of his education survive.

The role of apprenticeship as part of a basic education was high: Friends were well aware of the value of a sound training in a trade or craft and most male children can have expected to be apprenticed to a Friend or relation. Education was not synonymous with attendance at a school, and poorer children in particular were not expected to look for learning beyond their social status.²

1. Locker Lampson, p. 22.

2. L. John Stroud, The History of Quaker Education in England (1647-1903), unpub. diss., University of Leeds, 1944.

Few indentures remain among the Monthly Meeting records since the Meetings were only concerned with placing children of the poor, or orphans. Similarly, references to parents apprenticing their children only occur when something went wrong with the procedure and the advice or assistance of the Monthly Meeting had to be sought. Only once was the question of reading and writing in this context minuted in the Chesterfield Meeting book. It was in relation to Joseph Loe in 1747 and the terms on which he was placed with Joseph Fletcher included the provision of 'necessary schooling as reading and writing'.¹

Direct evidence is thus extremely limited about education but an interesting comparison can be made between John Gratton's own description of his childhood and upbringing, and the account given by John Low of Freebirch, parish of Brampton. Gratton was at pains to contrast his idle behaviour in his youth with his industry for, and dedication to, the Society after his convincement. Consequently he wrote 'When it first pleased the Lord to visit me, and to cause his light to shine in me (which is now my life) I was but a child and was keeping my father's sheep and was addicted to sin and vanity'. In a subsequent passage he dated this at about his tenth or eleventh year, an age at which he 'took great delight in playing at cards, and in shooting at butts, and in ringing of bells'.² His inability to adhere to a serious religious life lasted for five or six years, by which time his education must have been largely completed. By contrast Low wrote in his unpublished testimony of about 1713 'He was born of sober Parents, who lived at Bonsall where he was well educated. His Parents were very careful to reprove him for anything that was evil so far as they understood. Then He was put an Apprentice to his Grand-

1. Q 62B, 17.1.1747.

2. Journal, p. 2 - 4.

father, Henery Tomlinson of Watchill in the Parish of Brampton, Chandler, who was very tender of him, and diligent in advising and reproofing him according to his Knowledge, being Zealously inclined, and living in a sober manner amongst those of the Church of England. He [Gratton] having had the advantage of a good Education, was Soberly inclined and a Diligent Enquirer after the best Things...¹ It is quite clear from other sources that Gratton was an extremely erudite man. Many of the early minutes of the Monyash Monthly Meeting are in his hand and he wrote pamphlets and numerous epistles as well as the Journal. Relatively soon after he joined the Friends, Morning Meeting had his treatise on baptism to consider for publication.² It was well regarded but his pamphlet 'An answer to John Cheney, priest, his pamphlet against thee and thou', presented two years later, was kept back for possible future publication.³ A similar fate befell some of his other works though the one on baptism was reprinted in 1695.⁴

The extent of adult literacy of a group of people is unquantifiable, particularly when such tangible evidence as exists is mostly in the form of business records written by a limited number of the group. The clerks of the Monthly Meetings, John Gratton, Samuel Ashton, Francis Tantum, Daniel Bradbury and others, were clearly capable: they had been chosen for their ability, amongst other things. So were other Friends appointed for such duties as collecting up Sufferings or making records of births, marriages and deaths. To act as the correspondent concerned with books sent from London presupposed literacy. For others however, the skill must often be inferred by indirect evidence or report

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1. MSS testimony to John Gratton by John Low in 1720 ed. of John Gratton's Journal at LSF.
 2. Mo.MM, Vol I, p.3, 30.9.1674.
 3. " " p.15, 20.9.1676.
 4. " Vol II, p.111, 16.10.1695.

Letters sent by Friends demonstrate the ability to communicate, but these are hard to trace and were probably mostly destroyed. Only in those cases where the writer or recipient was reasonably well-known were the letters saved. Thus Lady Martha Rodes referred to letters received from Ann Gratton, wife of John, and from Samuel Barker, the bailiff at Barlborough,¹ but to date there are no extant letters traced from either. Chance survivals such as a letter from Ellin Beard to Arnold Kirke, 1705, requesting the loan of forty or fifty shillings,² *and which* was written by Barnabas Bailey who went to collect the money, show how dependent Friends could often be on their more literate neighbours.

Those who owned books were presumably able to read them. Eighteen Friends from Derbyshire mentioned books in their wills, or had them in the house according to the inventory made after death. (There must have been more than this, but that is from the number of wills and inventories identified). Of these only three out of 16 were unable to write their names at the bottom. Approaching death or severe illness may have accounted for this in at least two of the cases where evidence from the wills and inventories themselves reveal both the testators as competent in business.

James Beard, a clothier of New Mills, made his will on August 13, 1672, and his inventory was made nine days later.³ He left a total of £288 11s of which nearly half (£123) was in debts owing to the testator. His will referred to an indenture between him and his son Thomas dated 1 July 1669 and to a certain amount of property. It seems very unlikely that he was unable to write. Probably old age or infirmity

1. Locker Lampson, p.18.

2. DCRO 513M/E65.

3. LJRO, Will and inventory of James Beard, 1672.

rendered him incapable of signing the last important document of his life. Susannah Bower of Tortop, parish of Glossop, 'spincer' may have been incapacitated for longer. She was the daughter of a wealthy clothier from Tortop who had, in his own will of 1697, left her £140 together with the provision of accommodation in one of the parlours of the 'old House'.¹ She apparently lived there until her death and her household good listed in her inventory amounted to little more than the furnishings of one room.² She must have been a reasonably astute business woman, or shrewd enough to employ someone very capable on her behalf, as her total wealth at death in 1710 amounted to just over £300 of which money on bond accounted for £245. She probably knew about how much money she had as her personal bequests came to approximately £228 which with stated items such as the clock (probably the family one which her father had bequeathed to her mother) amounted to about £242. The evidence strongly suggests that she was capable of writing more than the S with which she signed her last will and testament.

Less can be ascertained about the degree of literacy reached by other testators. Although it seems a reasonable presumption that those who lent money out of bond had a strong motive for being able to read the documents which would have accompanied such transactions,³ evidence based on Derbyshire wills is inconclusive. Twenty Friends, from a total of 53 inventories, left money on bond, ranging from small amounts to hundreds of pounds. Nine of them left more than half their total wealth in this way, including the three women. Rather disturbingly, seven of these were

1. LJRO, Will and inventory of Edmund Bower, 1697.

2. " Will and inventory of Susannah Bower, 1710.

3. cf. Spufford, p.213.

unable to sign their wills. Does this argue that they felt safer with someone else looking after their money because of their own incapacity through illness or old age? A further two who left less than half their total wealth on bond were unable to sign their wills, making a total of nine. Of this nine, three were men who were on the point of death and three were women, who were in any case statistically less likely to be literate.¹

The occupation of those who left money on bond may provide a more reliable guide to the probability of literacy than signatures of the testators, though such an assessment must be based on assumption rather than hard evidence. Class distinctions in education at this period were still very marked.² Discounting the women, 17 of the testators were, or had been, concerned with agriculture, being yeomen or husbandmen. The amounts left by both these two groups were variable and for this purpose will be counted as the same class. Joseph Buxton, who was described as a yeoman in 1709 left under £40, Joshua Clayton who was described as a husbandman the same year left over £170. Of the remaining six testators, three were concerned with the cloth industry, one was described as a gentleman, one as a bachelor, and only one as an artisan, a stone-mason. This might suggest that those who lent money on bond were those who belonged to a class which would expect a certain degree of literacy, irrespective of the actual amounts left.

If signatures by testators create as many problems about literacy as they solve, the signature of witnesses to wills may be more reliable, though they also have their drawbacks as evidence. Friends do not usually seem

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1. D. Cressy, 'Educational Opportunity in Tudor and Stuart Britain', History of Education Quarterly, Fall 1976, p.314.
 2. ibid.

to have sought out other Friends to act as witnesses to their wills: consequently from a total of 54 wills, 35 witnesses were definitely Friends, 114 were not. The few who are doubtful make little difference. Of those who were Friends, 27 could sign as witnesses, though these include a few from Nottinghamshire, and of those who were not Friends, 93 were able to sign. Actual figures are not important but the fact that between seven-tenths and three-quarters of the witnessing population, both Quaker and Anglican, could sign their names may indicate that roughly similar educational opportunities were open to both. Some qualifications have to be born in mind however, since the figures suggest an unusually high degree of literacy for the population as a whole.

Friends appear to have made their wills well in advance of death more often than the rest of the population; they were advised so to do by Yearly Meeting. The phrase which occurs in different permutations in so many wills about the testator being 'weak in body but of sound and perfect memory' does appear in the wills of Friends but with less regularity. In 58 wills, 29 testators expressed themselves as weak in body, but the other 29 gave a variety of reasons for making their wills. Seven were in good health, three in indifferent health, four were taking precautions 'considering the ^acertinty of death', two were of sound mind and memory but nothing was stated about their physical condition, two were aged and infirm and one was a prisoner 'for profession of religion, called Quaker, being in health of body and good remembrance but beinge about sixty-foure years of age and straitned of my Liberty...'¹ The remaining seven gave no reason for making their wills. Thus at least half of these Friends probably considered who might act as witnesses to their wills, and may well have chosen those who were literate.

1. LJRO, Will of Edmund Lingard, written 1678, proved 1681.

A study of the length of time which elapsed between the will being made and the death of the testator confirms this. Only seven of the Friends for whom this interval can be calculated died within two weeks. Twenty-one died within the next six months, nine between six months and a year after making their will, ten within one and two years and nine after two years or more. Thus only a small proportion delayed making their wills until they were in imminent danger of death and approximately one third lived for a year or more after deciding on the disposition of their goods. This again makes it more than likely that the witnesses were chosen specifically rather than at random because of the urgency of the situation. Definite evidence of choice is available in only a very few cases when the testator clearly requested Friends from elsewhere to attend him. William Thompson, the clerk of the Nottingham Monthly Meeting wrote and witnessed the will of Francis Tantom of Heanor parish in 1718 and that of Cornelius Heathcote of Cutthorp in 1730. He had many connections with prominent Friends in Derbyshire and surrounding counties and on at least one occasion wrote and witnessed the will of a well-known Leicestershire Friend, John Fox of Wymeswold (5 July 1712).¹ Cornelius Heathcote was very unusual amongst the wills discovered in having three witnesses who were all Friends, and none of them from Derbyshire. Most Friends asked local people, friends or neighbours, and possibly chose them for their ability to sign their names.

In two instances, conclusive evidence of literacy is given by the testator having written the will himself. Abraham Cundy of Chesterfield was not a very accomplished writer, though his will was made four months before his death in 1686. His script on his original will is, however, identical

1. LCRO, Will of John Fox, 1712.

to that of his signature. William Frith of Eyam, by contrast, wrote an extremely neat hand in 1701 which is unmistakable although he was very near death. He had written Richard Furnis' will 30 years before, and there is little change in the form of his letters. Apart from these two, three other Friends can be identified by their hands as having written wills for their fellow Quakers. Comparison of the script in the text and the signature of the witnesses sometimes reveals that one person undertook both tasks. James Ridgeway of Lilybank, Glossop (who probably wrote some of the Low Leighton Monthly Meeting minutes) wrote two wills at the end of the seventeenth century, and Samuel Mellor of Glossop, John Bennet of Beighton and probably Edward Lingard of Blakeshawe all wrote one apiece.¹ In several cases the scribes came from some distance, including William Thompson from Nottingham. Other wills may well have been written by Friends, though in at least two instances there is proof that Friends were employing known scribes who were not Friends. Adam Wooley and his son John have been identified as the writers of a number of wills in Matlock in the early eighteenth century,² and they performed the same duty for Henry Taylor of Darley in 1702 (Adam Wooley) and Daniel Clark of Matlock in 1727 (John Wooley). Among the rest of the wills there is little evidence about the scribes but it appears that Friends did not rely totally on their co-religionists to perform this task for them, thus demonstrating that they were less of a closed Society than might sometimes be assumed.

Finally, one curious document appears to prove the ability of Matthew Hopkinson of Shirland to write. His list of funeral directions must have been written before 1747 when he died;³ the handwriting appears identical to his signature on his will.

1. All wills and inventories quoted are in LJRO.
 2. Local Population Studies No. 8, (1972) p.55.
 3. LSF, MSS Box Q3/9.

Chance survival of documents therefore seems to be the only way of assessing the literacy of those Friends who did not take part in the written transactions of the Society. On such evidence as there is it seems that many may have been able to write as well as read, though not noticeably more than their Anglican neighbours.

The extent of adult literacy among Friends is thus demonstrably hard to calculate. With no Quaker school in the district most Friends must have attended local schools, had some sort of private education or have gone to neighbouring counties for instruction. Assessment of their proficiency is difficult for the vast majority because so little is known of their everyday lives. Book ownership and the records of the use of the stock of books in the Monthly Meetings give an idea of how wide the ability to read was though it was probably wider than appears. (Appendix III).

Without catalogues of individual libraries the number of books owned by Friends cannot be calculated. Many of those in Derbyshire were not sufficiently well off to afford more than one or two and many owned none at all. Some bequeathed their Bibles in their wills or owned books which were mentioned in the inventories taken after death but from the number of traced wills and inventories only 18 out of 63 definitely had books in their homes. Unfortunately books were less easily assessable by neighbours than household goods or husbandry tools and the reliability of their assessment is often questionable.¹ Additionally, books (and other items) mentioned in wills are frequently omitted from inventories casting further doubts on how comprehensive

1. D.D. Vaizey 'Probate Inventories of Lichfield and district 1568-1680', Hist. Coll. Staffs. 5, (1969).

the latter were. William Frith of Eyam, who died in 1701 leaving goods totalling a modest £13 15s 10d, apparently left no books at all if his inventory is to be taken at face value. Yet in his will he specifically left ~~the~~ Great Bible to his grandson William Frith and to Elihu Johnson, his kinsman 'a little flat deske with a pritty large quantity of Bookes corte up in it'. Only a year earlier he had subscribed to ~~two~~ copies of Barclay's 'Apology' but it sounds as though he owned a good deal more than just those ~~two~~ volumes. John Clay of the Hill, North Wingfield parish, who died in 1679 leaving a total of £108 17s 8d, left his Great Bible to John Clay the son of his brother Francis. This was accounted for in the inventory but the Bible, together with other small books, was only valued at 10s.

Books were frequently assessed together with other effects, indicating either a lack of interest or knowledge on the part of those compiling the inventory. Francis Tantom of Loscoe had a pocket watch and several books which together were worth £3 8s in 1728, Susannah Bower of Tortop (who died in 1710 leaving just over £300) had her ~~one~~ book and chest valued at 10s. Thomas Burbick of Chesterfield, a dyer, left nearly £300 in 1713 but his books and reading stand were only worth £1 10s in the eyes of the appraisers. In several cases where Friends are known to have subscribed to books through the Monthly Meeting there is no mention of them in either will or inventory. This seems particularly surprising in the case of a wealthy man like Henry Bowman of One Ash who died in 1748 leaving £682 8s 6d.

Two early references in the records of the Sufferings of Derbyshire Friends note the possession of books by Friends. In 1660 George

1. All wills and inventories quoted are in LJRO.

Goodridge was taken from his house 'for reading of a freind's book'¹ and the following year when Ralph Sharply and William Yardley were in the House of Correction 'their books and letters were taken away and never restored'.² Unfortunately such detail was omitted from the later relations of sufferings.

Friends who did own books in any quantity stand out from the rest even if the full extent of their libraries is not known. The activity of John Gratton was probably behind the formation of the library of the Monyash Monthly Meeting. Occasionally he referred in his Journal to the purchase of books and to his habit of reading which had been with him from an early age. Although it is not clear if he bought the book he mentioned in the following passage, it is quite clear that he knew how to obtain reference books and use them. In 1680 he was trying to insist on his right to a free prison '.. as I knew the law allowed: for it happened, that a little before there were several friends in that prison, whom he [the Gaoler] put in the dungeon among thieves, and would scarce allow them clean straw, so I got a statute book, which said that no sheriff, nor under sheriff, nor gaoler, nor under gaoler, should keep and lodge debtors and felons together, upon the penalty of five pounds. So I took it and went to the sheriff, whose wife and mine claimed some kindred; they were very friendly to me and desired me to leave my book with him and meet him at the assizes, where he would speak to the judge, which he did and the judge ordered my friends to be put from the felons and to have rooms to themselves. The next that came to prison was me, so I demanded one of those rooms; he said he had corn in it; take it out then, said I which he did in great vexation, and put me there, it being

1. Great Book of Sufferings, Vol I, p.326, see above, p.112.

2. Bosse, Vol I, p.139.

an old prison chamber¹

In 1695/6 he recorded in the Monyash Monthly Meeting minutes that six Friends had borrowed books from him and in 1700 he subscribed to two copies of Barclay's 'Apology'. Unfortunately he disposed of his estate in Monyash some years before his death², and no record remains of the extent of his library.

The other Quaker book-owners in Derbyshire who are known to have had anything more than a few volumes were all members of the Rodes family of Barlborough Hall. Sir John received a substantial list of suggestions for the basis of a good library when he was a young man from William Penn in 1693.³ These ranged from works on religion, and by Friends in particular, to natural philosophy, mathematics, the classics, gardening, history, biography and law. Some good advice was added 'Always write thy name in the title Pages, if not year and cost, that if lent the owner may be better remembred and found'.⁴ The editor of these letters noted that many of the books suggested to Penn were still in the library at the time that the letters were printed (1910)'and John did not forget to inscribe his name in all of them, but not alas 'the year and cost''⁵ Martha Rodes, Sir John's mother wrote to her son in London in 1693 'I desire thee to buy me six books of W. Pens the fruits of Solitude. I would have unbound for cheapness and two bound; for I thinke them Excellent Pithy books, and may Do Good to be sent abroad - in all eight'.⁶ Sir John was staying at the time with Henry

1. Journal, p. 89.

2. Journal, p. 127.

3. Locker Lampson, p. 4.

4. Locker Lampson, p. 6.

5. Locker Lampson, p. 7.

6. Locker Lampson, p. 27.

Gouldney in White Harte Court in Grace Church Street. Thirty one letters of the latter to Sir John appear in the collection and he seems to have supplied Sir John, who was rather retiring and inclined to stay in Derbyshire, with books. Some were specifically ordered, others sent to excite his interest. In 1696 Gouldney wrote 'I, enclosed, send thee a little booke I thinck well don, and will give G.K. uneasiness'.¹ In 1703 he added a postscript to his letter 'Tate Sole tells me the bookes thou wrote for is not yet printed, and thats the reason, but I perceive they lost the memorandum and I cannot yet finde they letter in which thou gives orders'.² He tried to persuade Sir John to edit William Penn's works in 1725, but the only known publication which Rodes edited is Fruits of a Fathers Love by Penn which appeared in 1726. John Tomkins also sent books to Derbyshire and discussed their content in his letters. Postscripts such as the following show how Friends in London tried hard to keep the country Friends abreast of current publications 'There is an Answear to primitive Heresie revived etc. by Joseph Wyeth. I spoke to Tate to send it.'³ News was frequently sent about the reception given to MSS proffered to Morning Meeting for scrutiny for which Sir John himself was asked to read on at least two occasions.⁴ It is unfortunate that the letters from Sir John were not kept as scrupulously as his own correspondence; the replies indicate that he was always interested in current controversies and argument and that he was accustomed to talk and write about books and their authors.

Sir John's brother-in-law, Gilbert Heathcote MD, probably owned books

1. Locker Lampson, p. 64.

2. Locker Lampson, p. 96.

3. Locker Lampson, p. 139. He is referring to Tace Sowle, a well known Quaker printer.

4. M6MM Vol II, p. 149, 154.

though there is no record of them, he having died in 1719 intestate in London as a result of his coach overturning. He had moved south in 1711 and had a fairly eminent practice. His connections with London prior to moving there were probably sufficient to ensure that he did not have to rely on the Quarterly Meeting to purchase books for him. His son Cornelius, who died in 1730 in Derbyshire left his whole library of books and MSS to his son Gilbert, though he excluded the account books.¹ It seems likely that this collection was merged with that at Barlborough Hall when Gilbert succeeded his great-uncle in 1743.

Information about book-ownership thus appears meagre: those who had no adequate connections with London Friends, nor sufficient money, relied largely upon the purchases channelled through the Society. Those who were of sufficient economic standing, or who were well known to Friends more closely connected with the production of books in London had other means of obtaining books. Information about their collections depends largely on chance.

An interest allied to book collection was that of map collection: several Derbyshire Friends had maps in their houses which were specified in their inventories. Samuel Ashton who was clerk of the Chesterfield Monthly Meeting for many years left £169 18s 6d in 1744 of which eight maps accounted for 6s 6d. No books were specified in the inventory made of his goods. Ann Watkinson of Dronfield, a spinster who left £37 16s 10d in 1747 owned a lantern, map and spinning wheel which the appraisers considered only worth 2s 6d put together. Because of the habit of lumping goods together it is difficult to tell whether Thomas Burbick's four maps,

1. LJRO, Will of Cornelius Heathcote, 1730.

cupboard and chest of drawers were worth more at 17s 6d for the lot in 1713. A wealthy dyer, he left a total of £298 1s 11d of which 17s 6d does not seem a very large proportion.

Maps probably argue a certain degree of literacy but it must be remembered that they were still considered pictorial in many instances. All the Meetings owned books, but according to circumstances, particularly financial ones, their enthusiasm waxed and waned. The Yearly Meeting of 1673 fixed the number of copies of each title published by the Quaker printers which each Quarterly Meeting was obliged to accept. Derbyshire Monthly Meeting was required to take seven. The burden of distribution lay with Friends appointed by the Monthly Meetings. So did the problem of collecting subscriptions for publications and money for books received - which proved difficult in many cases.

One particular Friend from the Quarterly Meeting seems to have had the duty of dealing with books and corresponding with his counterpart in London. It was not always clearly minuted when different Friends took over this task but it seems probable that William Storrs had the duty initially. Richard Morris was officially in charge at the turn of the century but relinquished the post in 1707 to Gilbert Heathcote, when he left the area. The latter probably handed over to Joseph Storrs and Samuel Ashton when he moved to London in 1711, but continued his connection with Derbyshire by acting as correspondent in London. William Storrs, son of Joseph, was in charge by 1733 though by 1756 the task was shared with Isaac Metcalf. The two of them were preparing to make a catalogue of the books belonging to Chesterfield Monthly Meeting at that date and the responsibility for dealing with the Quarterly Meeting books appears to have merged with the Chesterfield Monthly Meeting responsibility.

Orders for books were channelled from the Monthly Meeting through the Quarterly Meeting to London and, judging by the number of orders, Friends preferred to make their own choice rather than have an arbitrary parcel thrust upon them. Although there were complaints about the number of books that they were supposed to take, the number of books specifically requested did not drop. In 1700 subscriptions were raised for a total of 145 copies of Robert Barclay's Apology from Derbyshire Friends.¹ A further 12 copies were ordered in 1734 when it was proposed to reprint it,² which seems more in proportion to the four Books of Sufferings which William Storrs was requested to order in 1735³ and the four books of Abstracts of Acts of Parliament received from Meeting for Sufferings in 1758.⁴ The content of these last two orders may well account for the reduction in orders since they would essentially be part of the Monthly Meeting Stock of books rather than purchased by individuals. The 18 copies of Testimonies of Deceased Friends ordered by Isaac Metcalf in 1760 probably reflects orders from individuals.⁵

Books were a heavy burden on the community because few Friends or Monthly Meetings had the resources to pay for large quantities. Pamphlets or epistles were more easily disposed of, though because more ephemeral they are less well accounted for. Eighteen copies of The Great Case of Tythes were distributed in 1729/30 by the Quarterly Meeting⁶ and a further 40 copies ordered at 6d each in 1731.⁷ Four years later 40 copies of Moses West's pamphlet against mixed marriages were commanded, the cost to

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1. YMM Vol II, 1700. This is a surprisingly and inconsistently large figure. What did they do with so many? To have distributed them all would have meant about one copy for every Quaker family in the county.
 2. Q 61A, 10.8.1734.
 3. " 3.2.1735.
 4. " 6.4.1758.
 5. " 31.1.1760.
 6. " 8.11.1729/30.
 7. " 7.8.1731.

be born by Friends.¹ The numbers vary little, 30 of Stephen Crisp's epistles being received from the London correspondent Luke Hind in 1758.² These appear to have been distributed without problem, though William Storrs was told to inform Meeting for Sufferings in 1759 that 60 printed epistles for Derbyshire would suffice.³ Despite this 70 copies of John Crook's epistle were received from Meeting for Sufferings in 1761.⁴

The cost of the carriage of the books from London was usually borne initially by the Friend in charge. When it was specified it often amounted to two or three shillings for a parcel, though it was frequently amalgamated with the cost of the books in the accounts. It is not normally clear from the Monthly Meeting Minutes whether they had to pay a proportion, or whether such carriage as they paid was for sending the books on from the Quarterly Meeting in Chesterfield. Derbyshire Friends were not rich enough collectively to follow the advice given by George Fox in his epistle of 1659 except on one recorded occasion. Fox wrote '... if any Friends have Friends (or Relation) beyond Sea, send them Books or Papers and be diligent to spread the Truth: and send Latin books or French books or other books to Leghorn, France, Poland, Italy, Norway, Low Countries etc.'⁵ This was impossible for those whose resources barely stretched to their own needs but in 1677 the Quarterly Meeting recorded a request that books should be brought to the Tupton Monthly Meeting to be given to those going to New Jersey.⁶ One of the few references to the substantial emigration which must have taken place

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1. Q 61A, 3.5.1735.
 2. " 5.1.1758.
 3. " 5.7.1759.
 4. " 8.1.1761.
 5. Epistles, p. 140.
 6. Q 61A, 25.4.1677.

about then.

It is unclear where Martha Rodes, mother of Sir John, of Barlborough Hall meant to send the 8 volumes of William Penn's The Fruits of Solitude when she requested them from her son in 1693. She wrote '... I thinke them Excellent Pithy books, and may Do Good to be sent abroad ..'¹ More than likely she merely meant distributed, not necessarily overseas.

The effective communication about books between Derbyshire Friends and their correspondents in London was not entirely one way. Despite their isolation Derbyshire Friends were quite capable of registering protests to the Morning Meeting in London if they felt the need. Morning Meeting had been established in 1673 to scrutinize all books intended for publication and to ruthlessly prune any works which seemed unsuitable or too lengthy. The care with which this was undertaken is demonstrated by the consideration given to a caveat registered by Derbyshire Friends in 1694. According to the Morning Meeting Minute for 27.6.1694 the truth of Fox's account of the justices behaviour towards Ellin Fretwell was suspect:² accordingly the meeting, after due consideration, decided that the sheet on which the account occurred should be reprinted and no copies already printed should be exposed. The printer was recalcitrant and Friends had to do the best they could, relying on members to be discreet. Leaves 309 and 310 were to be reprinted and 'new printed leaves sent down to every county to a couple of discreet Faithfull Friends, to take out the old leaves and put in the New as carefully and neatly as they can because of some suspition in

1. Locker Lampson, p. 27.

2. MoMM, Vol II, 1694.

Darbyshire about part of an information in page 309'.

Friends could also send suggestions for works to be reprinted; Gratton relayed a request from the county in 1702 for^{two} of Thomas Lawson's books to be considered,¹ indicating that rural Friends may not have been so cut off that they were unable to make suitable suggestions for the Society's literature.

The Monthly Meeting supplemented the work of the Quarterly Meeting at a more local level and it was through this meeting that subscriptions were raised and orders placed for books. It is clear that books were frequently bought in the hope that they would be purchased by members, but the more normal function of the Monthly Meetings in this respect was as a library.

The amount of money paid out was recorded amongst the Monthly Meetings with varying accuracy, as might be expected. The^{two} meetings which were most assiduous in their efforts to keep track of the money and the books were Breach Monthly Meeting and Monyash Monthly Meeting. The former were scrupulous about all aspects of their accounts, and books were no exception. Monyash Meeting was under the influence of John Gratton, himself an author, book owner and borrower. Their accounts are difficult to work out since the proportion of books sold were not always mentioned and the accounts often include items intended for Low Leighton Meeting. This must have been an administrative convenience, since Friends of that Meeting were geographically far removed from Chesterfield. Money was frequently taken from the stock of the Meeting to pay for books which remained unsold to members. Entries such as that for 14.4.1716 at Monyash were commonly

1. MoMM, Vol III, 11.3.1702.

made - 'Cornelius Bowman and Edward Booth to discharge our part of the parcel of books brought by Joseph Storrs being 3s 1ld. No more books sold than two little ones being both [together] but 7d. Taken out of stock 3s 4d. 2 books Persecution exposed left at this meeting, price 3s. 0d, 1 little one Quakers vindicated price 4d which belong to the Meeting House.'¹ It was followed by a rather pathetic note on 3.7.1716 'Edward Booth to return the book of James Nayler to the Quarterly Meeting as too expensive and not needed.' A subsequent entry added that 'it was refused and accounted to us'. If the accounts are reasonably full the amount paid out by the Monthly Meeting every year was a matter of shillings rather than pounds for books which were bought for general use. If Friends then purchased them so much the better. In Monyash Meeting Elihu Hall, who was an avid reader so far as it is possible to tell, bought George Keith's Epistle to the Presbyterians in New England for 1s 6d in 1694 and an unbound copy of Quench not the spirit for 4d in 1714. Two equally determined readers from Breach Monthly Meeting at about the same time, Thomas Biggs and John Peake, are only recorded as having bought one book each, although they both borrowed extensively. Thomas Biggs bought Henry Mulliner's book Popery exposed by its own author in 1720 for 1s 6d and John Peake purchased Sin Strengthened in 1725.

Although individual books and the members to whom they were lent were not specified by Low Leighton Monthly Meeting, it is clear from the intermittent accounts that they were always in financial difficulties over books, as over other matters. One month after the Monthly Meeting had borrowed 19s 6d from James Ridgeway to defray the existing book debt on

1. Q 86, 14.4.1716.

7.1.1699, Samuel Mellor brought a new parcel of books costing 5s 2d. By 9.4.1700 Friends had decided to write to the Quarterly Meeting to say firmly that they were unable to sell the books; scant notice was taken as a further parcel arrived on 13.7.1700 costing 3s 4d. By the end of the year Friends were resigned and an enigmatic minute stated that 'several of our paper books divided and others to be disposed of to absent Friends'. Twelve months after they had initially borrowed money from James Ridgeway to clear the book debt a decision was taken to borrow money yet again for the same purpose.¹ In 1709 the Quarterly Meeting was requested to defray the charge - 4s 7d - on a parcel of books or take them back. No more were to be sent unordered 'as already several others undisposed of and some of them great volume'.²

Chesterfield Monthly Meeting accounts appear to have been mixed up with those for the Quarterly Meeting and are thus unusually complicated. Since they were the richest group of Friends in the county there was little difficulty over payment. They even rose to buying a cupboard to put books in at Tupton Meeting House.³

The cost of the individual books was rarely more than 12s but relatively high prices were paid willingly. Ellwood's Sacred History of the Old Testament cost 10s in 1706, Monyash Meeting's copy of George Fox's Journal (the second edition), published in 1709, the same in 1713. The latter meeting had a tradition of buying expensive books which may well have been started by John Gratton. A list of books belonging to Ashford Meeting, which was one of the early meeting places for Friends of this

1. CCRO, EFC3/1, 1699-1700.

2. " " 1709.

3. Q 62B, 18.9.1707.

area, is written in his hand at the back of the Meeting minute book.¹ It includes a work by Samuel Fisher, probably Rusticos ad Academicos (1660), though merely described as 'Writings' in the list, at a cost of 12s; Francis Howgill's 'Works' - perhaps Works of Darknesse brought to light (1659) costing 10s; William Smith's Writings at 8s 6d which may have been the works of the Nottinghamshire Friend, William Smith, who lived at Besthorpe, and George Whitehead's The Christian Quaker and his Divine Testimonies Vindicated (1673) at 7s 6d. None of the books mentioned in the Ashford list were in that drawn up in 1735 as a record of the books belonging to the Monyash Meeting when it joined with Chesterfield. It is likely that they had been bought in by Friends, and the most probable purchaser would have been John Gratton. In 1695/6 he noted in the Meeting minute book that ~~six~~ of his books were out on loan, but unfortunately gave no titles.²

Chesterfield Monthly Meeting could afford some of the more expensive books later in the period and was the only Meeting to note the purchase of William Sewel's History of the Rise and Progress of the Christian People called Quakers in 1722, the same year that it was published. It cost them 12s 11d but, rather surprisingly, the same book cost the Gloucestershire Quarterly Meeting 14s. Another anomaly in price occurred over Fox's Epistles; the advertised price was 18s, and a note on the fly-leaf of the copy in Gloucestershire states that 18s was paid.³ Low Leighton Monthly Meeting however only paid 12s.⁴

Apart from the cost of the books themselves, and the carriage, binding

1. Q 86.

2. " 5.1.1695/6.

3. Information on prices paid by Gloucester Quarterly Meeting is in 'Quaker Books in the Eighteenth Century' R. Burtt, JFHS, Vol XXXVIII, p. 10.

4. CCRO, EFC3/1, 28.4.1699.

or re-binding was sometimes necessary. It is tempting to assume that those volumes which needed rebinding were those most used, but it may also be that they were purchased unbound, or that they were less well put together initially. George Fox's Journal, a popular book for borrowing, was re-bound by Monyash Monthly Meeting at a cost of 3s 9d in 1719.¹ Breach Monthly Meeting paid 3s 6d for the same in 1714.² Chesterfield Meeting however only paid 1s 'for a covering' to the Journal in 1694³, and 8d for the Epistles to be 're-covered' in 1707⁴. The different terminology may denote a different process though it looks as though they used terms rather loosely when the same Meeting accounted for 7d spent in re-binding Thomas Story's Journals in leather in 1749⁵.

Pamphlets were a different matter. Some were purchased in bulk with the intention that Friends should buy their individual copies. A list of 'books', which must have been pamphlets, received in 1694 by Monyash Monthly Meeting reveals the following prices:⁶

1	Fair examinations	2d
1	Scorner's Rebuk	2d
1	Charitable essay	1d
1	General epistle	1d
1	Bugg against Bugg	1d
1	Just Enquiry	1d
1	Caunt Convert	6d
1	Matthew Weyer	1s 0d
1	Henery Sown	1d

These were specifically to be kept at Monyash for the use of Friends. Nearly half a century later the initiative was being taken by the Quarterly Meeting. Forty copies of Anthony Pearson's Great Case of Tythes were ordered by William Storrs in 1731. The advertised cost of

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1. Q 86, 2.5.1719.
 2. Q 59, 9.12.1714.
 3. Q 62B, 16.8.1694.
 4. " 20.11.1707/8.
 5. " 20.2.1749.
 6. Q 86, 27.7.1694.

the reprint was 8d and the charge was to be borne by the Quarterly Meeting. When they arrived the cost was 6d per copy and the carriage a further 2s 4d; the distribution was ~~ten~~ copies to Breach Meeting, ~~five~~ to Monyash and Low Leighton each, and the remaining 20 to Chesterfield.¹

The numbers of books belonging to each Meeting varied - as do the records. It is quite clear that the lists of books that each Monthly Meeting possessed during the period are not complete and the relative strengths and weaknesses of the various Meetings in this respect are unlikely to be accurate.

The best documented Meeting is probably Monyash which has lists of books in stock at ~~two~~ different periods and fairly frequent references to titles acquired from month to month. The total recorded number of books and pamphlets which passed through the hands of the Meeting, whether subsequently bought in by Friends or retained for public use is 87. Variation in the detail of the records undoubtedly makes this a very conservative figure. Breach Meeting recorded a similar type of count with 53 books and pamphlets, but there are no extant details for the years before 1700. Chesterfield Meeting mentions the precise title of ~~only nine~~ books and Low Leighton ~~only eight~~. These totals take no account of the books mentioned by name in the Quarterly Meeting minutes since their distribution is usually uncertain.

What did Friends read and how up to date were they with books published by the Quaker publishers?

1. Q 61A, 7.8.1731 and 6.2.1732.

Some of the Monthly Meetings give details of those books which were borrowed. Such records are only patchy in the case of Derbyshire Meetings and the detail given varies. Clerks of the Monthly Meeting, or those responsible for books, no doubt relied on their memories in many cases. When borrowers were noted down it is likely that more people read the book than just the person technically responsible for it.

Monyash Meeting made the fullest record of borrowers: between 1695 and 1727 a total of 26 Friends were noted as having borrowed one or more books. The complete number of titles borrowed was 61 and the borrowers were divided neatly in half: 13 borrowed more than one book, 13 only a single volume. The figures for Breach Meeting are broadly comparable. Between 1701 and 1735 (34 years instead of 32) 21 Friends borrowed one or more titles. The total was also 61; eight people borrowed more than one book, 13 borrowed one only. Chesterfield records are too sparse to give a credible picture and those for Slackhall do not mention books borrowed at all.

Which Friends were the most avid readers? Elihu Hall from Longnor borrowed eight books from Monyash stock between 1714 and 1723, having subscribed to three titles through the Monthly Meeting before that. Either for his own use or for lending to others he had ordered three copies of Barclay's Apology. John Gratton borrowed four books between 1703-4, George Potter eight books between 1703 and 1726. At Breach Meeting Thomas Biggs and John Peak both borrowed extensively, the former taking ten books between 1704 and 1725, the latter 12 between 1717 and 1725. Though ten books in 19 years and even 12 in eight years may not seem very many this must be a minimum number and takes no account of other books read during the period. Both these last two Friends also purchased books on at least one occasion.

The reading habits of the different Monthly Meetings were not identical, though the standard works were predictably popular. Friends of Monyash Monthly Meeting were enthusiastic about Thomas Ellwood's Sacred History of the Old and New Testament and George Fox's Journal. They were not so interested in James Nayler's works which they had foisted on them in 1716 and which they tried, unsuccessfully, to return. At Breach Monthly Meeting Elwood's History was equally popular, the three volume edition of 1720, which was bought the year it came out, being passed rapidly round - not always in volume order. The same applied to Fox's Journal and to a book by James Nayler, probably the 1716 Collection of sundry books, epistles and papers written by James Nayler. This was borrowed at least ten times between 1716 and 1725. The absence of adequate records for Chesterfield and Low Leighton Meetings makes comparison difficult, but in the former Fox's Journal was popular and Nayler's works were also borrowed. Collections of works of well known Friends such as Richard Claridge and William Crouch were borrowed by a few members of Monyash Monthly Meeting, and at Breach some were interested in George Whitehead, the book they were probably borrowing being The Christian Progress of that Ancient Servant and Minister of Jesus Christ, George Whitehead which appeared in 1725. Pamphlets were borrowed on a more regular basis from that meeting, though it is not always easy to distinguish loans from sales. Despite the interest paid to the history of the Old and New Testament, only Chesterfield Meeting mentions owning William Sewell's History of the Rise, Increase and Progress of the Christian People called Quakers (1722) and only Joseph Storrs was recorded as having borrowed it.

Distribution by the correspondents in London appears to have been relatively efficient. Derbyshire Friends, unlike some others, did not record any feelings of moral obligation to encourage the printers but the books they received had usually been published only a short time before. At Monyash, when the date of purchase is known, practically all the books were received during the year of publication or the following year. A slightly surprising exception occurred in the case of George Fox's Journal, the second edition of which appeared in 1709, but which the Meeting minutes did not refer to until 1713. Could this argue that they had previously had the use of John Gratton's copy which was returned after his death in 1712? If so, another explanation must be found for the copy at Breach Meeting where the same book was not purchased until 1700, ~~six~~ years after the publication of the first edition. The same applied to Fox's Epistles, only Low Leighton Meeting having its own copy in 1699, though it had been printed the year before. Chesterfield, Breach and Monyash Meetings all waited ~~ten~~ years or more before acquiring theirs. Did Low Leighton have a different supplier? Or did the difference lie in that a subscription was expected for such works? The Epistles may not have been dispatched from London as part of the regular order if Friends were expected to buy copies individually.

Such a system seems to have been the pattern for some of the more prominent books written or compiled by Friends. Subscriptions were solicited for the second edition of Robert Barclay's Apology in 1700; a specific order was placed for Besse's Sufferings in 1733 and similarly for the Book of Abstracts in 1739. Since Chesterfield Monthly Meeting records are not very explicit it is hard to tell how many books such as these they received in the later period, but ~~two~~ copies

of Sufferings were ordered for the Meeting, two for Monyash and one each for Breach and Low Leighton. Similarly, four volumes of Sufferings were ordered for the Quarterly Meeting in 1748, but there is no reference to them having been received. In 1753 Jacob Hagan, the London correspondent for Derbyshire presented the Meeting with two volumes which were 'gratiously' accepted.¹ Towards the very end of the period records of the Monthly Meeting at Chesterfield in connection with books appear to merge with those for the Quarterly Meetings and become rather fuller. Books for which subscriptions were specifically required included Isaac Pennington's Works in two volumes, 18 copies of Testimonies of sundry friends and eight Books of Acts and Clauses of the Acts of Parliament.² The cost of these orders was not recorded, but it seems to indicate a rather more positive attitude towards ordering.

It seems clear that the distribution of the books was undertaken entirely by Friends themselves. No Derbyshire bookseller was among those in the list compiled in 1664³ and there are no records of any distributors or dealers at any other period. Friends were unequivocal in their attitude when consulted in 1734, maintaining that no purpose would be served by putting Friends' books into the hands of booksellers.⁴

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1. Q 61A, 10.11.1753.
 2. " 1758 onwards.
 3. Penney, p.228.
 4. Q 61A, 11.5.1734.

Conclusion

The examination of the social and economic history of a number of adherents to a religious group, thinly scattered over a wide and difficult terrain during a period as large as a century answers some questions about the basic nature of the Society of Friends in Derbyshire and poses more which have to be left open.

The framework of historical facts is comparatively easy to supply: the structure of Quaker Meetings and the individual fortunes of each; the property, including not only meeting houses but also endowed lands, bequests and meeting house possessions; the sufferings for the Truth and the persecution meted out to Friends by the civil and ecclesiastical authorities; the code of discipline and the vigour with which it was imposed on members; poor relief and finally books, which, purchased or borrowed, were both a bulwark to the Society and a means of advertising it to the unconvinced. All this, and more, can be ascertained from the local records of the Society of Friends and the central records in London. In addition a considerable corpus of biographical and genealogical information about individual members is available. Apart from a variable survival rate, and the individual quirks of such records, the scope of such information is not vastly different from that which survives for other Quarterly Meetings.

Substance can be added to the framework by further investigation of the sources and consideration of additional local historical factors. The topography of the country and its parochial divisions fairly clearly influenced the original organisation of the Society in Derbyshire as well as its development. Demographic enquiry into the membership

reveals many interesting facts including the crucial one of the number of Friends. Unlike some non-conformist groups, Friends never kept membership lists during this period and calculations of the size of the Society in any area before the nineteenth century are consequently complicated. Having ascertained that the membership was indeed declining during the eighteenth century, as Friends were always alleging but never substantiating, it seems pertinent to enquire into the reasons. A rise in age at first marriage may be partly responsible; emigration to Pennsylvania to escape persecution or to establish better conditions may have contributed; almost undoubtedly a movement away from the county because of a lack of employment or marriage prospects reduced numbers; and none of these factors take into account the natural wastage of a second generation of Friends who were not as committed to the Society as their parents. Other demographic problems, such as the average family size, however, are impossible to answer through lack of data, despite detailed investigation.

The facts about property owned by the Society appear straightforward though, on examination, the paucity of resources for erecting and maintaining buildings makes it remarkable that Derbyshire Friends kept as many properties as they did. The scale of operations was very small indeed. If resources were slender, from whom did the available money come and how did the donors earn it? Although Friends in this area were predominantly middle to lower-middle class, ^{(and} as far as can be ascertained from the sources this group provided most of the support for the Society locally), nevertheless, there seems to have been very little money to spare for the property. Much more was regularly donated to poor relief, on the premise that it was the more pressing need in a Society which set little value on outward show but was concerned for the welfare of its members.

The occupations of members may have been middle class in twentieth century terms but in Derbyshire they must have been at the lower end of any such scale in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. There is surprisingly little evidence of Friends being involved in the industries which concerned the natural resources of the county, coal and lead mining, up to 1761, despite the fact that in the seventeenth century there was considerable interest in mining in Yorkshire, and in the eighteenth century, the London Lead Company invested substantially in Derbyshire mining. Agriculture and manufacturing provided the bulk of the opportunities available to Friends but holdings and businesses were on the whole small by comparison with other counties. The fortune of Thomas Vice who moved away from Derbyshire and died, in 1739, a comparatively wealthy man in London is a contrast to the more modest achievements of Friends who remained in the country. The available records are biased towards recording the occupations of the economically prosperous; little can be assessed about the part played in the Society by the less articulate classes with less education or opportunity.

Throughout the records of Sufferings in the Society, and in particular amongst the more personal accounts found in journals and letters, there are reminders that the Friends were not ostracized by the outside world, despite the persecution inflicted in their early history. The relationship between members of the Society and the 'world's people' was often good. To what extent Friends were dependent in their times of trouble, whether through persecution or the rigours of ordinary life, on their religious group, their kindred group or their neighbourhood group is impossible to gauge but the role of the last was clearly not the least.

Examination of more than the purely factual information about bequests in wills reinforces this view: a surprisingly large number of those mentioned as either executors or witnesses were not Friends. Pre-

Affirmation Act wills also provide evidence of an apparent understanding between Quakers and the Established Church, never spelt out, over the matter of probate. Negative evidence, in the form of a lack of Anglican prosecution for offences which should have been committed by dedicated Quakers, and an absence of disciplinary action by Friends themselves, supports this.

Wills can also illuminate other aspects of the Society by providing evidence of literacy, as well as of prudence. How can the fact that a surprisingly large proportion of those who acted as witnesses to wills, both Anglican and Quaker, were able to sign their names be explained other than that they were a fairly select group chosen for their literacy or their familiarity with the processes of will making? And if they were so chosen, often well before death, is that not evidence of Quaker prudence?

Ability to sign a document is one thing but it does not presuppose a matching ability to write more than that or to read books. Evidence of books ownership amongst Friends in Derbyshire seems decidedly scanty when the wills and inventories are examined but from a comparative study of the books which passed through the Quarterly Meeting from London it looks as though considerable detail must have been omitted in the former, more personal, documents. Without a check such as this, the contents of wills and inventories might be misleading.

Deeper investigation of the sources as outlined above does much to turn the history of Friends in Derbyshire from the history of an institution or group into a more personal account, from which the lives of actual people can be deduced. The framework is filled out and relationships discovered which owed their existence to more than the bond of a common conviction. It also highlights some of the inconsistencies in the

behaviour of Friends which, to date, have been often forgotten or ignored. How did Friends reconcile their position over taking oaths in the probate court with the doctrine of non-swearing? Even more fundamentally, how did they resolve the problem of swearing to burial in woollen when the matter was blatantly left to their own consciences by Meeting for Sufferings? If such a matter could be left to individual interpretation over an issue such as this, could it not be done over other matters of Quaker discipline? Why were there no disownments for the practice of paying tithes by connivance, in particular in Breach Monthly Meeting where Friends were unable to appoint a clerk free from payment in the mid-eighteenth century? Why were records not better kept when there were continual exhortations from Yearly Meeting emphasizing the importance of such? Does the comparative lack of prosecutions in Derbyshire by the Anglican and civil authorities indicate that Friends in the area were on good terms with them, or that they rationalized their conduct, steering a middle course between Quaker authority and establishment authority? Some of these questions I have tried to answer, some have to be left to speculation given the lack of evidence.

The value of such a study as this is not only the picture it gives of a religious group in a particular place and at a particular time, its relationships with the outside world and its connections with the central body of its organisation but also that it provides a basis for comparison with other similar groups in other parts of the country. Where possible comparison has been made with other studies, but until a greater number of these have been completed a true assessment of the place of Derbyshire Friends in the history of the Quakers cannot be made. It is clear that they were not in the forefront of the movement; but they were the very stuff of which the ordinary rural membership was made. It has seemed worthwhile to investigate that very stuff a little more deeply.

Appendix I - Emigrants from Derbyshire.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Origin</u>	<u>Date of emigration</u>	<u>Source</u>
Ball, John	Derby	Before 1684	Cope
Bartram, John	Ashbourne	1683	"
Blunston, John	Little Hallam	1682	"
" Michael	" "	"	Roberts
Blunstone, Phoebe	—	died 1749 at Darby, Pa.	The Friend
Bonsall, Abigail (d. of Richard)	Ashford	1682	Cope
Bonsall, Mary (w. of Richard)	"	"	"
Bonsall, Richard	"	"	"
Bowman, Phoebe	One Ash	1749	Chesterfield MM
" Richard	" "	"	" "
Bunting, Samuel	Monyash MM	1720 announced intention of emigrating.	Monyash MM
" "	—	1678 settled at Chesterfield NJ	John Smith MSS 1;380
" William	Breach MM	1721	Breach MM
Caldwell, Vincent	Monyash MM	1699	Myers
Cartlidge, Edmund	Riddings	1683	Roberts
Cooke, Francis	Little Hallam	1682	Myers
Daws, Abraham (with wife & family)	Newthorp	c. 1702	Chesterfield MM
Draper, Thomas	Breach MM	1715	Breach MM
Fearne, Elizabeth	Monyash MM	1682	Cope
" Joshua (s. of Elizabeth)	" "	"	"
Fretwell, Samuel	Hartshorn	c. 1701-2	QM Minutes Penney, <i>et al.</i>
" -- (s. of Ellen)	--	--	GF Journal, Vol II, p.104.
Gibbins, Henry	Pentrich	1682	Roberts
Hall, Joan	Monyash MM	1699	Myers
Hanks, John	Breach MM	1729	Breach MM
Hanks, Luke	Eastwood	c. 1682	Roach
Hervey, Joseph	Chesterfield MM	1702	QM Minutes
Hood, Thomas	Brason	1682	Cope
Jones, W.	Ashford MM	--	PRO CO/700/1
Kirk, John	—	before 1687	Roberts
Linam, John	North Wingfield	before 1683	JFHS, 1908, p.95.
Linam, Margaret (w. of John)	" "	" "	" " "
Marshall, John	Elton	1682-3	Cope
Nailer, Robert	Monyash	1683	Roberts
Potter, Joseph	Eastwood	—	PRO CO/700/1

Appendix I contd. - Emigrants from Derbyshire

<u>Name</u>	<u>Origin</u>	<u>Date of emigration</u>	<u>Source</u>
Rodes, Adam (s. of John)	Wingreaves	1684	Cope
Rodes, Jacob (s. of John)	"	after 1684	"
Rodes, John (s. of John)	"	1684	"
Rodes, John	"	c. 1697	Bristol Mens
" , Joseph (s. of John)	"	" "	Meeting Bristol Mens
Searson, Edmund	Pentrich	1682 or before	Meeting
Sellers, Samuel	Belper	1682	JFHS, 1908, p.95.
Sidon, Samuel	Breach MM	1699 or before	Roberts
Smedley, George	--	1684 " "	Myers
Smith, John	--	" " "	Cope
Smith, Robert	Sawley	1691 " "	"
Whitby, Thomas	"	--	Roberts
Wilcockson, Isaac	Breach MM	1721	Roach
Wood, George (and family)	Bonsall	1682	Breach MM
Wood, John (s. of George)	"	"	Cope
Wooley, William	Breach MM	?	"
			left land in Pennsylvania in 1700 to children of emigrants
Worth, Thomas	--	1684 or before	Cope

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 Dictionary of Quaker Biography, LSF.
 The Friend, Philadelphia, Vol 31, (1858) p.61.

Appendix II - Occupations of Derbyshire Friends.

	<u>Pre 1700</u>	<u>Post 1700</u>
<u>Gentry and Professional</u>		
Landed	4	1
Doctor/Surgeon/Apothecary	2	2
Lawyer	0	0
Clerk	1	1
<u>Agriculture</u>		
Yeoman/Farmer	24	28
Husbandman	10	2
<u>Manufacturers - A.</u>		
Weaver	5	2
Webster	2	2
Framework Knitter	1	5
Dyer	5	3
Feltmaker	1	0
Clothier	4	0
Coverlet weaver	0	3
Leather dresser	1	0
<u>Manufacturers - B.</u>		
Tailor	0	1
Silk stocking maker	1	0
Bodice maker	1	1
<u>Manufacturers - C.</u>		
Cooper	1	0
<u>Manufacturers - D.</u>		
Shoemaker	2	3
Cordwainer	0	0
<u>Manufacturers - E.</u>		
Blacksmith	4	3
Nailer	0	3
<u>Manufacturers - F.</u>		
Clockmaker	0	72
Soapboiler	1	0

Appendix II contd. Occupations of Derbyshire Friends.

	<u>Pre 1700</u>	<u>Post 1700</u>
<u>Building</u>		
Carpenter	3	0
Builder	1	0
Joiner	0	1
Stonemason	4	0
Wheelwright	0	2
<u>Mining</u>		
Miner	3	1
Mine manager	0	1
<u>Transport</u>		
Carrier	2	0
<u>Labouring</u>		
Labourer	5	0
<u>Distribution and Trade</u>		
Mealman	0	1
Merchant	0	1
Maltster	1	2
Lead Merchant	0	2
Grocer	0	1
Badger	1	0
Chapman	0	1
Chandler	2	0
Butcher	2	1
Tanner	0	3
Woolen draper	1	1
Hosier	0	1
Fellmonger	0	1
<u>Service</u>		
Innkeeper	1	1
Servant	2	0
Ostler	1	0
Miller	3	2
Bailiff	1	0

This division of occupations is based on a table for the economic classification of occupations in pre-industrial England by Peter Laslett, given at a weekend seminar on population studies.

Appendix III - Books, their owners and borrowers amongst Derbyshire Friends.

Abbreviations: A Ashford LL Low Leighton
 B Breach M Monyash
 C Chesterfield S Stansby
 D Dronfield W Wessington

Figures in brackets refer to the number of copies.

AUTHOR	TITLE & PUBLICATION DATE	PRICE	ACC DATE NOTED	QM / MM	OWNER	BORROWED BY	DATE
ARSCOTT, Alexander	Some Considerations belonging to the Present State of the Christian Religion. 1st ed. 1730		1734	M			
BARCLAY, Robert	Anarchy of the Ranters. 1st ed. 1676			M			
	An Apology for the True Christian Divinity 1st ed. 1678 <u>Total of 145 copies subscribed for in Derbyshire in 1700</u>		1699	LL	Bassit, Thomas Bentley, John Booth, Ales Booth, Cornelius (2) Bowman, Henry (3) Bunting, William Buxton, Sarah		

AUTHOR	TITLE & PUBLICATION DATE	PRICE	ACC DATE NOTED	QM / MM	OWNER	BORROWED BY	DATE
BARCLAY, Robert	An Apology for the True Christian Divinity, cont.				Frith, William(2) Gratton, John(2) Hall, Elihu(3) Millward, Thomas Newton, Nathaniel Wayne, Abraham		
BAYLY, William	[?]Collection of Several Wrightings of that Prophet, Faithfull Servant of God and Sufferer for Testimony of Jesus] 1st ed. 1675	5s	1719	B		Farnsworth, Joseph Peak, John	1719 1720
BELLERS, John	An Abstract of George Fox's Advice and Warning to the JPs of London in the year 1657 1st ed. 1724		1734 1724	M B		Biggs, Thomas Tantum, Francis	1724 1724
BESSE, Joseph	Confutations of a charge of deism. 1734		1735	M			
ed.	Collection of Friends Sufferings 1650-60. 2 vols 1734	8s 10d	1734	M			

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[?BRUSH, Edward]	'Quakers Vindicated' [?Vindication of the Christian Quakers. 1694]	4d		M			
BURNYEAT, John & FOX, George	A New England Fire-brand Quenched 1679		c1695	A			
CHUBB, Thomas	[?Human nature vindicated 1726]	6d	1726/7	M			
CLARIDGE, Richard	Carmen Spirituale [on Christian Counsel to Youth] 1703	1d	c1708	B(2)			
[?Pamphlet to which Claridge replied]	Life and posthumous works of Richard Claridge. 1726	5s	1726	M		Bowman, Henry Bowman, Cornelius	1726 1727
	[?Melius Inquirendum] 1706		1706	M		Gratton, Josiah	1706
	Plea for Mechanik Preachers 1727		1734	M			
	To the Vicar of Banbury [cf. Melius Inquirendum]		1703/4	M			
[CRACKENTHORP John with THURGOOD Thomas? OR CRACKON [?CRACKENTHORP Richard]	[Some Considerations on Election and Reprobation] 1726	6d	1726	M			

AUTHOR	TITLE & PUBLICATION DATE	PRICE	ACC DATE NOTED	QM / MM	OWNER	BORROWED BY	DATE
CRISP, Samuel	[?A Libeller expos'd. 1704]		1704	B		Biggs, Thomas	1704
CRISP, Stephen	[?An epistle to Friends concerning the Present and Succeeding Times] 1st ed. 1666 7th ed. 1757		1758	QM C(24) B(6)			
CROOK, John	Epistle [for Unity] 1st ed. 1661 reprinted 1760		1761	QM C(58) B(12)			
CROUCH, William	[?Posthuma Christiana] 1712	1s 6d	1713	M	Booth, Edward	Bowman Cornelius Bowman, Rebecca Bunting Patience	1713 1719 or before 1720
ECCLESTON, Theodore	[?Reply to A serious expositu- tion with the People called Quakers. 1708]	4d	c1708	B			
ELYS, Edmund	'Narratives' [?Reflections upon some passages in George Keith's Third Narrative. 1698]	1d	1699	LL(2)			
ELLWOOD, Thomas	An Antidote against the infection of William Rogers book miscalled the Christian Quaker. 1682	1s 6d	c1695	A(2)			
	Fair examination of a foul paper. 1693	2d	1694	M			

AUTHOR	TITLE & PUBLICATION DATE	PRICE	ACC DATE NOTED	QM / MM	OWNER	BORROWED BY	DATE
ELLWOOD, Thomas	Sacred History cont.				Vol III	[Brough, George] Sweeton, Thomas Oats, Enoch Peak, John Englesant, Mary Tantum, Jonathan	1720 1721 1721 1723 1725 1725
	History of Old Testament <u>inconsistent</u>		1713	M		Booth, Edward Bowman, Cornelius Ball, Peter Loe, James Clark, Daniel jr.	1719 or before 1719 1722 1726 1726
	History of New Testament <u>inconsistent</u>		1714	M		Hall, Elihu Bunting, William Bowman, Rebecca Bunting, Samuel Ball, Peter Hall, Elihu Widow Clark	1715 1715 1719 or before 1719 1721 1721 1722

AUTHOR	TITLE & PUBLICATION DATE	PRICE	ACC DATE NOTED	QM / MM	OWNER	BORROWED BY	DATE
ELLWOOD, Thomas	History of New Testament cont.					Bunting, Temperance Potter, Joseph Ball, Peter Potter, George Bowman, Cornelius Bowman, Henry	1724 1726 or before 1726 or before 1726 1726 1727
FIELD, John ed. [" "]	Dying Sayings of Friends [in Piety Promoted] 1st ed. 1711 various parts reprinted	1s 2s 7d	1741 1760	B B			
	Scorner Rebuked. cl693	2d	1694				
	A treatise concerning the Fear of God. 1713		1714	M		Bowman, Cornelius Bower, John	1714 1713
	Humble Application to the Queen [1703]		1703/4	M			
FISHER, Samuel	'Writings' [? Rusticus ad Academicos. 1660]	12s	cl695	A			
FOX, George	'Papers'	10d	1687	QM(24)			
	'Doctrinall Epistles' [sic] 1698	18s	1707	C		Loe, Joseph	1720

AUTHOR	TITLE & PUBLICATION DATE	PRICE	ACC FIRST DATE NOTED	QM / MM	OWNER	BORROWED BY	DATE
FOX, George	Journal cont. 2nd ed. 1709 [2 Vols] rebound @ 3s 6d 1719	[10s in Glos.]	1713	M		Bowman, Henry Hall, Elihu Bunting, Samuel Booth, Edward Bunting, Samuel Bunting, Cornelius Widow Clark Loe, James Bowman, Henry Bowman, Cornelius	1713 1715 1719 1719 1720 1720 1724 1726 or before 1726 1727
[?GRATTON, John or perhaps LAWSON, Thomas]	[Treatise] 'Concerning Baptism' [?and the Lord's Supper. 1677/8 or 1695]			M			
HOLMES, Benjamin	[?A serious call in Christian Love to all people to turn to the Spirit of Christ in themselves] 1725		1725	B		Biggs, Thomas Farnsworth, Joseph	1725 1725
HOOKES, Ellis	The Spirit of the Martyrs revived. 1st ed. nd. 2nd ed. 1682	6s	1679	M			

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HOWGILL, Francis	Works [?] of Darknesse brought to light? 1659	10s	c1695	A			
[?]JEWKS, John?			1722	M(2)			
KEITH, George	The Presbyterian and Independent visible churches in New England and elsewhere brought to the test and examined. 1st ed. 1689 2nd ed. 1691	1s 6d			Hall, Elihu		
LATEY, Gilbert	[?]A brief Narrative of the Life and Death of that Ancient Servant of the Lord and his People, Gilbert Latey? 1707	1s	c1708	B			
LAWSON, Thomas	A Mite into the Treasury. 1680.	1s	1723 1703/4	B(2) M(2)		Potter, George Gratton, Joseph Bower, John	1703 1703 1720
MARTIN Josiah	[?]A Vindication of Women's Preaching. 1717?		1718	B		Peak, John	1718
'MULLINER', /MOLLINEUX/ Henry	[?]Popery exposed by its own author? 1718	1s 6d	1718 1719	B M	Biggs, Thomas 1720 ?Potter, George	Peak, John " Hall, Elihu	1718 1723 1719

AUTHOR	TITLE & PUBLICATION DATE	PRICE	ACC DATE NOTED	QM / MM	OWNER	BORROWED BY	DATE
MOLLINOS, Michael	Passages from the spiritual guide of Michael Molinos. 1708	2d	c1708	B(2)			
NAYLOR James	[?]Collection of sundry Epistles and papers written by James Naylor] 1716	6s	1717 1716	C B		Taylor, Samuel Tantum, Francis Wilcockson, James Farnsworth, Joseph Smeeton, Thomas Peak, John Biggs, Thomas Day, William Farnsworth, Joseph Tantum, Francis Allen, John Bowman, Cornelius Clark, Daniel	1717 1716 1716/17 1717 1717 1717 1718 1718 1720 1723 1725 1726 1726
	'Journal' [?same as above]	'too expensive'	1716	M		Bunting, Samuel ?Longden, John	1719 or before 1727
	[How] 'Sin [is] Strengthened' [and how sinis overcome] 1724	2d	1725		Peak, John		

AUTHOR	TITLE & PUBLICATION DATE	PRICE	ACC DATE NOTED	QM / MM	OWNER	BORROWED BY	DATE
OSBORN, Elias	[?] A brief narrative of the life labours and sufferings of Elias Osborn 1723	4d	1723	B	Bought by unknown person		1723
PEARSON, Anthony	The Great Case of Tythes. 1st ed. 1657 4th ed. 1730		1730	QM B(3) M(2) LL(2) S(1) D(1) W(1)	Roads, John Storrs, Joseph sr. Arnold, Stephen Loe, Joseph Frith, Joseph Metcalf, Joseph Hopkinson, Matthew		
	reprinted 1732 advertised @ 8d sold @ 6d			QM B(10) M(5) LL(5) C(20)			
[?] PENN, William	'Defence' [?] of a paper. 1698	6d 1s 6d	1699 1735	LL B			

AUTHOR	TITLE & PUBLICATION DATE	PRICE	ACC DATE NOTED	QM / MM	OWNER	BORROWED BY	DATE
[PENN William]	'Advice' [?] Good advice to Church of England Roman Catholic and Protestant Dissenter. 1687.	9d	1724	B(2)			
	'Animadversions' [?] on the Apology of the Clamorous Squire. 1685/	4d	1699	LL(2)			
PICKWORTH, Henry	[?] Reply to Francis Bugg. 1701/	4d	1701	B		Gratton, Joseph	1701
RICHARDSON, John	Account of the life of that Ancient Servant of Jesus Christ, John Richardson. 1st ed. 1757 2nd ed. 1758	2s 6d	1758	B			
RIGGE, Ambrose	'Works' 1710			QM ordered 1709			
[SALMON, William]	'Apologies' [?] for innocency and justice of the Quaker cause. 1674/	2d	1699	LL(2)			
	Dissertation concerning the Lord's supper. 1708	6d	cl1708	B			
SEWEL, William	History of the Rise, Increase & Progress of the Christian People called Quakers. 1st English ed. 1722	12s 11d	1722	C		Storrs, Joseph	1729
SMITH William	'Writings'	8s 6d	cl1695	A			

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SOWN, Henry		1d	1694		M			
STORY, Thomas	A Journal of the Life of Thomas Story. 1st ed. 1747 [rebound in leather @ 7d 1749]		1748 1749		B C			
TALLOW, [TAYLOR] Thomas	[?Collected works] 1697		1721		B		Biggs, Thomas Peak, John "	1721 1721 1724
UPSHER, Thomas	[?Answer to a Pamphlet intituled An account of an occasional Conference between George Keith and Thomas Upsher] 1701						Day, William Smeeton, Thomas	1701 1701
[?VICKRIS]	[?A Salutation of Love. 1697]			1704	M		Gratton, John	1704
WEYER, Matthew	[?Narrow Path of Divine Truth described] 1683	1s			M			
WHITEHEAD, George	Charitable essay. [1693]	1d	1694		M			
	The Counterfeit Convert: a scandal to Christianity. 1694		1694		M			
	'Journal' [?The Christian Progress of that Ancient Servant and Minister of Jesus Christ, George Whitehead] 1725	5s 6d	1725 [1725]		C B		Biggs, Thomas Tantum, Francis	1725 1725
	The Christian Quaker and his Divine Testimonies vindicated. 1673	7s 6d		cl695	A			

AUTHOR	TITLE & PUBLICATION DATE	PRICE	ACC DATE NOTED	QM / MM	OWNER	BORROWED BY	DATE
WHITEHEAD, George cont.	Epistles	1d	c1708	B(3)			
	Just Enquiry into the libeller's abuse. 1693	2d	1694	M			
	[?The Power of Christ Vindicated against the 'Magick' of Apostasy] 1708	1s 6d	c1708	B			
	? unbound	6d	1694			Gratton, John	1704
	'Bugg against Bugg' [?Quakers' indication against Francis Bugg. 1694]	1d	1694	M			
[?WHITEHEAD, George]	Serious Examinations [of George Keiths pretended serious call to the Quakers. 1707]	4d	c1708	B(2)			
	Truth Prevalent [1701]		1701/2	B(2)			
	'Truth's Principals' [?Truth & Innocency Vindicated and the People called Quakers defended in Principle & Practice. 1699]	3d	1699	LL(2)			
	[?The Written Gospel - Labours of that Ancient & Faithful Servant of Jesus Christ. 1704]		1704	M		Gratton, John	1704
WHITEHEAD, John	Catalogue of Friends' Books. 1708		1719	M			

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WHITING, John	Persecution Exposed. 1st ed. 1715	1s 6d	1716	N(2)		Hall, Elihu	1716
WHITELOCKE, Bulstrode	Quench not the spirit. 1711	4d	1714		Hall, Elihu		
WILKINSON, William	The Baptism of the Holy Spirit. 1718		1726	M		Bowman, Cornelius	1726
WILLETT,	<u>[?]</u> Some observations on <u>A</u> pre- tend dialogue between a Baptist and a Quaker. 1720	6d	1720	M			
	Authors Unknown						
	TITLE						
Abstracts of Acts of Parliament			1760	(1) C(2) B(1)			
Almanack		1½d	1706	B			
Epistle of Caution and Advice to Parents				M			
General Epistle		1d	1694	M			
Essay		1s 0d	1723	B		Tantum, Francis	1724

TITLE	PRICE	ACC DATE NOTED	QM / MM	OWNER	BORROWED BY	DATE
Heresies of Tything	8d	c1708	B(2)			
Judas and the Chief Priest	2s 8d	1701	B		Potter, Daniel	1701
Modest Observations	1d		LL			
Protestations of GW	1d	c1708	B(2)			
Rolls of Parliament		1702		Bowman, Henry		
Testimonies of Friends	2s 7d	1760	B(2)			
Treatise concerning the Fear of God			M			
True Christ Owned	3d	c1708	B(2)			
True News	2d	c1708	B(2)			
Turbulent spirit in answer to G. Keith		1703/4	M(2)			
Vindication of 9th proposition of Robert Barclay's Apology.			M			
Yearly Epistles	9s 6d	1760	B			

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Tanner MSS 131

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Cheshire County Record Office

EFC 1/1/2 Minutes of Cheshire Quarterly Meeting
2/1/2 Minutes of Morley Monthly Meeting
3/1 Minutes of Low Leighton Monthly Meeting 1685/6 - 1728
3/2 Marriage certificate of Daniel Bradbury 1735

Derbyshire County Record Office

Box XIV, 3 List of recusants 1682
Sessions Order Book 1682 - 1702

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Historical Manuscripts Commission

Coke papers printed in the 12th Report of the Hist.Mss.Comm. (1888-9)

Lambeth Palace Library

Tenison MSS Vol 639

Leicestershire County Record Office

12D/39/28 Minutes of Congerstone, Castle Donington and
Swannington Monthly Meeting

Library of the Society of Friends

Digest of Births, Marriages and Burials, Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire
 Great Book of Sufferings
 Meeting for Sufferings Minutes
 Morning Meeting Minutes
 MSS Box Q 3/9
 Original Records of Sufferings - transcripts by Craig Horle
 Six Weeks Meeting Minutes
 Swarthmore MSS
 Yearly Meeting Minutes
 William Caxton MSS - transcript by Craig Horle

Lichfield Joint Record Office

D30 NN17 Dean and Chapter Muniments
 B/V/1 Visitation records, presentments
 /3 " " miscellaneous
 /5 " " returns

All wills, unless otherwise mentioned, are in this record office.

North Yorkshire Record Office

R/Q/R Richmond Monthly Meeting MSS.

Nottinghamshire County Record Office

A complete list of all Quaker MSS relating to Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire can be consulted at the Record office or at the Library of the Society of Friends.

Q 55A Nottinghamshire Quarterly Meeting Minutes 1668 - 1754
 59 Breach Monthly Meeting Minutes 1701 - 1762
 61A Derbyshire Quarterly Meeting Minutes, men 1672 - 1761
 61B Derbyshire Quarterly Meeting Accounts, men 1672 - 1761
 62A Derbyshire Quarterly Meeting Sufferings 1661 - 1760
 62B Chesterfield Monthly Meeting Minutes 1691 - 1732
 62C Chesterfield Monthly Meeting Minutes 1732 - 1787
 86 Monyash Monthly Meeting Minutes 1672 - 1735
 134 Lease of property in Saltergate, Chesterfield
 for meeting house 1697/8
 135 Release of same
 144 Counterpart lease for 21 years of Whinny Close, Killamarsh
 1714/15
 145 Counterpart lease of same for 42 years 1743
 146 Feoffment of property in Monyash 1668
 150 " " " " " 1698
 151 " " " " " 1693/4
 153 Lease of meeting house in Monyash to trustees 1711
 157 Lease of burial ground at Peasonhurst 1739
 158 Release of same
 159 Assignment of lease at Overend, Ashover 1702
 160 Assignment from old trustees to new of above 1728/9

- Q 178 Release of house and meeting house at
Toadhole Furnace to trustees 1744
180 Lease for above
195 Assignment of land in Condor 1649
196 Declaration of trust for above 1678
197 Assignment of lease for above 1677
198 Deed poll for assignment of lease for above 1678
199 Assignment of lease for above 1674
211 Copy of conveyance of meeting house etc. at Melbourne 1853
251/5 Licence for meeting house 1727
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